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East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1978

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ORIGIN OF MOLDAVIAN HUNGARIANS DISCUSSED

Bucharest FLACARA in Romanian 7 Jan 82 p 10

[Article by Dr Radu-Stefan Ciobanu: "Views on the Origin of the Csangos"]

[Text] Having read with great interest the series of articles in FLACARA on the origin of the population known as "Csangos," I should like to express my opinion on the subject too. I decided to do so because of some previous efforts to explain the origin of the Csangos that caused me to make investigations in archives in 1974-1975, followed by a field research visit to the rural communities in Moldavia inhabited by the population known by that name. Not having finalised the findings of this first stage of the studies, and considering that the treatment, discussion and explanation of a historical point calls for a particularly high sense of responsibility on the part of the one who undertakes this delicate mission, I continued the work in the summer of 1978, when I was in Budapest for a short time and consulted a number of technical publications about the subject that interested me. And now that the investigation has reached a point where the accumulation of documentary material is rich and varied, I can formulate the first conclusions.

I wish to point out that in writing these lines I am not a native of any of the villages with a so-called Csango population, as are those who preceded me in the articles on this subject in FLACARA. My only motive is the desire to set forth sine ira et studio what the documents indicate.

I learned from the bibliography on the Csangos' origin that the population of that name inhabits some areas in Tara Birsei and the Ciuc Mountains and the area of the "bend in the Olt." Moreover I was surprised to note that a number of more or less recent writers call all Catholics in Moldavia Csangos. The terms "Csango" and "Catholic" do not seem identical or similar in any way. "Csangos" means a portion of the inhabitants of Moldavia with certain characteristics acquired in the course of their historical evolution, while "Catholics" means all those professing the Catholic faith, who may be of Romanian, German, Ukrainian or other ethnic origin. The Csangos happen to be of the Catholic faith, but they do not include the entire population of Moldavia that belongs to it. Synonymous use of the two terms probably goes back to the period of predominance of religious faiths and was perpetuated by its acceptance without due analysis of the situation.

The Csango population has been studied by a number of historians, philologists, ethnographers and folklorists because of a series of distinctive features based on its

Catholic faith in the midst of the Orthodox Romanian population, its dialect, and its proper names, dress and household structure. In almost all of these works, written over more than a century and a half, the Csangos were declared en bloc to be of either Hungarian or Romanian origin with no detailed, in-depth investigation. Among those who considered them exclusively Hungarian were Flek Gego, Moses Rubini, Istvan Gyorffy, Balint Csuri, Pal and Peter Domocos, Geza Bako, Koss Laszlo and Filep Antal. They were answered by Iosif Petru M. Pal, Dr Petre Rimneantu, the late Academician C. C. Giurescu et al., who said the Csangos are of Romanian origin. The main factors used in the dispute caused by the discussion of the Csangos' origin were the etymology of the name Csango, the time of their settlement in Moldavia, their dialect and their traditional costume.

The etymology of the word csango has been variously explained. Nicoae Iorga, who was studying the privileges of the salgai [?] of Tirgu Trotus, assumed that it came from Sovago (salt miner), A. Horger derived it from csamog (staff), much used by the Csangos during their pastoral occupations, and the expert on Transylvanian documents, Andrei Veress, seconded by Janos Tatrossi, tried to establish a Cumanian derivation of the word. Perhaps the most likely hypothesis is that of the scholar Aladar Ballagy, which was accepted by L. Mikes and later by Geza Bako, who maintained that the name could come from csango (wanderer, vagrant). Ballagy thought it was a nickname given to the Catholicized Romanians of East Transylvania and perhaps to the Szeklers, who practiced transhumance and were always on the move. Since the philologists cannot come to any unanimously accepted conclusion about the etymology of the name Csango and the door is open to endless hypotheses, the problem has not been definitively resolved and therefore the term cannot be used as an argument in discussing the origin of the Csangos.

The date the term Csango appeared was and perhaps still is considered to be 1805, when it appears in Domocos Teleki's writings. But we can say that the name Ciungabi-Csango occurs in documents at least two decades earlier. It is mentioned in two of the Catholic priest Peter Zold's accounts, dated 1780 and 1781 respectively, which are the first certain evidence of the Csangos in the Moldavian states in the areas known to be inhabited by them.

The documentary studies do not enable us to speak of Csangos before those dates. If they had existed before the 18th century they would have at least been mentioned in two monumental writings of the time, namely the Codex left by the Catholic bishop Marc Bandini and the Descriptio Moldaviae by the learned Prince Dimitrie Cantemir. Both of them were familiar with the situation in Moldavia, benefiting by a veritable staff of "informants," and they could obtain information that interested them. No doubt Brother Beke, Bishop Bandini's secretary, would have mentioned and praised the Csangos if he had encountered them because he was interested in presenting the effects of Catholic propaganda in a favorable light. But we find mentioned in his writings, in some of the villages later settled by Csangos, only Catholic inhabitants of Moldavia among others and the comment that they were Hungarians. The latter term has led some who are less familiar with the language of the medieval documents to assert that it was a population of Hungarian origin, whereas actually the name Hungarians designated the Transylvanians who came and settled in Moldavia throughout the Middle Ages, during the constant shifting on both slopes of the Carpathians, just as Moldavians left to settle in Transylvania. In his turn the learned Prince Dimitrie Cantemir did not mention them in his work written in 1716 especially to make his country known to the Academy in Berlin, although he would have if they existed then just as he mentioned other picturesque elements of the Moldavian population.

What catastrophic event took place in the eastern parts of Transylvania that forced part of the population to abandon their birthplaces and make for the villages in Moldavia? It is known that in 1761 Empress Maria Theresa accepted Gen A. von Buccov's proposal and ordered regiments of border guards to be formed in the border areas. In Transylvania, a Romanian regiment was to be formed in the Bistrita Nasaud area, a Szekler one in the Sfintu Gheorghe region, and another Romanian one in the Orlat Fagaras region. The Romanians proved willing to enlist because, in order to attract them, the Aulic Court had promised to free them from serfdom and invest them with land. The Szeklers opposed enlistment because they were considered free men by virtue of the Leopoldine Diploma (4 December 1691) with the power of a constitution of Transylvania and the prolonged military service was only a loss to them. At the insistence of the nobles, who saw themselves deprived of the peasants' labor, the Austrian authorities decided in 1763 to disband the second Romanian regiment in Bistrita Nasaud, but they did not keep their promise to free the Romanian from serfdom. Their dissatisfaction flared up immediately, in addition to that of the Szeklers, who requested disbandment of the first regiment of border guards in the Sfintu Gheorghe region. When they saw that the Romanians and Szeklers enlisted in the border guard regiments in the Bistrita Nasaud and Sfintu Gheorghe areas had revolted, the imperial Habsburg authorities sent strong repressive units against them and even resorted to a massacre like that in Sicileni Commune (7 January 1764).

To save their lives the former border guards, some accompanied by their families, took refuge in the forests in the Ciuc Mountains. There they made contact with the Moldavian outlaws Grigorie, Onu and the famous Nica Paun and with their aid they came to Moldavia by paths unknown to their pursuers and settled in villages they knew thanks to the Hungarians or in communities new to them.

The number of newcomers in a census taken by the Austrians in 1778, right after they annexed Bucovina, may be of interest. They found 1,200 Transylvanian families in southern Bucovina, 410 of which were those of the border guards, and 308 of the latter came from the second Romanian regiment and 102 from the second Szekler regiment, in connection with which note that the Romanian officers who helped to compile the Supplex Libellus Valachorum said there were many Romanians in the first border guard regiment, and Gheorghe Barit maintained the same thing in his study on the second border guard regiment. In this case it is probable that some of the 102 families of the former border guards in the first regiment were entirely of Romanian origin.

In the present stage of the investigation it is difficult to specify the number of those who fled from Transylvania to Moldavia. It appears to have been quite large because the chronicler Istvan Halmagy complained in May 1766 and in September and October 1767 that the country (Transylvania -- author's note) had been abandoned by many taxpayers, while the diplomatic documents and reports show that Vienna asked the Sublime Porte to return 80,000 refugees in Moldavia and 16,000 in Wallachia.

After this first great wave of Csangos arrived in Moldavia in 1764, still more came. One of them was after the repression of the uprising led by Horia, Closca and Crisan (1784-1785) and after the repressions following the defeat of the 1848-1849 Revolution in Transylvania. They came to the same areas and villages wherein the first Transylvanians had settled, reinforced the group there, and maintained contact between both slopes of the Carpathians.

Probably the newcomers from Transylvania wished and tried to settle constantly in the same settlements also because of the Catholic religion. Romanians who had been in

the second border guard regiment probably came from the former inhabitants of the Romanian "countries" of Vlahita and Bretcu, which were partially catholicized in the 15th-16th centuries. Having some advantages and being near the Szeklers, who were also Catholics, the not very numerous Romanians in the area gave up orthodoxy, which is still the faith of the majority of the Romanian population in Transylvania. Perhaps the isolation due to the quite rigid practices of the Catholic priests, also attested by Iosif Petru M. Pal, the former superior of the Franciscans in Moldavia in the period between the wars and a Csango in origin, can to a great extent explain why the name Csango has persisted so long.

Careful observation of the Csango folk costume bears out the documentary facts. Bela Agh Biro, who is no ethnographer, formed the hasty opinion that beautiful, purely Hungarian costumes had been found in the area. On the other hand, Nicolae Iorga and after him Tancred Banateanu, the famous ethnographer and specialist in Romanian folk art, concluded that the Csangos in the northern and southern areas wear typical Romanian dress. Only those in the western area (the Ghimes valley) have ornamental designs of Hungarian origin.

The problem of the Csango dialect has been and still is a delicate one that has been heatedly discussed and disputed. It is known from some partial studies of philologists and folklorists like those of Dumitru Martinas, Gyula Marton, Janos Farago et al. that the rural Moldavian group called Csangos is bilingual. Some of them speak a dialect of Transylvanian origin, reminiscent of their places of origin, while others speak a Szekler dialect, which to anyone who knows the Hungarian language is obviously a distorted and perhaps archaic form of the latter. Probably that is why Peter Zold, the expert on the Csangos, writes that they "distort" Hungarian words. The preservation in some villages of folk ballads in a Hungarian dialect that speak of the arrival from the Ciuc Mountains, collected by Janos Farago, cannot serve as an argument that all Csangos speak that language. The analysis of the situation in the largest Csango commune, Sabaoani, shows that in August 1975 about 1,800 out of 2,300 families were biligual, and the remainder of about 500 families knew Romanian only. The bilingualism showsin this case that the Csangos come from former Romanian and Szekler border guards united in the struggle against the imperial Habsburg authorities' oppression and in the effort to build the beautiful and rich villages in which they live today. While the Austrian census of 1778 shows a high percentage of Romanians in the Csango total, the same situation obtains today. We can judge by the incomplete statistics that we have that out of the total of about 200,000 Moldavian Csangos, about 40,000, or 20 percent, are of Szekler origin. I have accepted the latter figure as hypothetical and debatable, for lack of another, because of the indication in the most recent academic work, that of K. Laszlo and F. Antal (A magyar nep taji-torteneti tagolodasa, Akademiai Kiado, Budapesta 1975, pp 147-148).

In concluding the account of my findings, which I do not regard as definitive conclusions but only as working hypotheses indicating the stage I have reached in the studies, I feel obligated to say the most important fact is not the scientists' dispute but the way the much discussed Moldavian villagers think and feel. We can quote a number of documents to this effect, convincing testimony alongside the collection of Csango poems made by Janos Farago. In the Bucharest State Archives, in the Constant Grecescu reserve under No 1,431, there is a manuscript memorandum of the Csangos protesting against the discourse of the leader of Hungary at the time, Horthy, who declared them Hungarians. In the memorandum it was expressly requested to be read over the radio and clearly stated that they, the Csangos, are Romanians.

Iosif Petre M. Pal, in a well-known book of his published in two editions (1941 and 1947) and as a man raised among the Csangos with opportunities to study the situation in the whole region, also maintained that the great majority of the Csangos are Romanians. The historian and philologist of Csango origin P. Cancel, in a still unpublished documented study, brings new and additional evidence in support of Iosif Petre M. Pal's point.

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1982 ECONOMIC PROGRAM GOALS DISCUSSED

Budapest HETI VILAGGAZDASAG in Hungarian No 1, 2 Jan 82 pp 4-5

[Interview with Akos Balassa, department chief of the National Planning Office by Mihaly Muranyi: "Hungarian Economy 1982, a Look at the Plan"]

[Text] To what extent is the production structure of the Hungarian economy adjusting to world market requirements? Why do energy management and material savings still stand at the center of attention in the management of the economy? We asked Akos Balassa, department chief of the National Planning Office, to provide answers to these questions.

[Question] There are as many prognoses as there are prophecies. But they all agree on one thing: the year 1982 is not very encouraging. What are the Hungarian economic planners counting on?

[Answer] Above all on the fact that for the Hungarian economy, unfortunately, foreign economic conditions will continue to change in an unfavorable direction. In our relations with CEMA countries we must reckon with the fact that energy sources which may be purchased for transferable rubles will decline; and total trade in this relation will not increase. As a result of the further factoring in of the effects of the second oil price explosion, according to price principles in effect for intra-CEMA trade, the terms of trade will continue to worsen; this must be countered by increasing exports.

In preparing the 5-year plan the stagnation, and in some places the regression, of the capitalist world economy is more unfavorable than assumed. Therefore, in 1982 as well, the marketing conditions for a whole series of our industrial branches, particularly metallurgy, chemical industry, machine industry and certain subbranches of the light industry will be difficult for us. The world money market will also be a disturbed one, for it is now being influenced not only by economic but also by political factors, including among other things the present world political situation. We must also reckon with the fact that the payments difficulties of several socialist countries will make it more difficult also for other socialist countries to receive credits.

As for domestic economic conditions, the 1982 economic development is unfavorably affected by the fact that in 1981 our national income did not meet the goal, and this included a lag in both industrial and agricultural production. For all these reasons we are proceeding now from a lower base than the 5-year plan had counted on.

In a certain sense, it can be regarded as unfavorable that the signs in 1981 pointed to an upswing in domestic consumption, including consumption by the population as well as investment. In observing these signs, the state undertook certain measures, but it cannot be stated with full certainty that it will be possible completely to prevent an economically unjustified upswing in some elements of domestic consumption. But there are also encouraging and favorable factors. One is that the results of the economic policy guidelines adopted in 1978 and followed continuously since then seen better and better. These must also bring 1982 results in the state and enterprise programs directed at promoting intensive economic development and improving efficiency and balance. In any event, it must be regarded as a positive factor that the favorable internal political atmosphere which has developed in response to the economic and political results already achieved have a stimulating effect on enterprises and their workers. And this is a very important factor in our further progress.

[Question] What are the main programs that face the economy in 1982?

[Answer] We have a comprehensive program, namely, the Sixth Five-Year Plan. Moreover, in the practice of our economic management we have given an increasingly greater role to various business organization actions, the more important one of which we used to call programs.

Among the characteristic conditions for 1982, the energy management program must be accelerated. This is related to the fact that our energy imports are moderating as compared to earlier imports. In order to meet the energy needs of the economy even under such circumstances, we had to take measures, on the one hand, to expand domestic energy production, and on the other hand to speed up energy savings programs. In the current 5-year plan we are devoting greater sums to the development of coal production from central funds than to the development of natural gas production. The effect of this will be felt in 1982 since the annual plan calls for more coal and natural gas production than had been conceived earlier. As for the energy savings program, we shall increase, through investment credits or state supports, the money that is available for enterprises, cooperatives and budgetary institutions to induce energy savings, or to replace difficult to buy energy with other kinds, for example, by using coal or natural gas instead of heating oil. Investments for energy savings and production will be about 20 percent greater in 1982 than in 1981, while according to plan total investments will decline. Organizational measures for energy savings will receive a greater role, for example, in transportation. In response to the energy saving measures, we want to achieve a savings of five petacaloris [quadrillion calories] in 1982, which amounts to almost 2 percent of our total energy consumption. This may also be one of the factors in keeping total energy consumption at a level not exceeding that of 1981.

The government has passed a resolution that by the middle of 1982 the material savings program will also have to be worked out and its implementation begun this year. In the case of various particularly important basic materials, this will call for such central measures and initiate such enterprise work as will make savings possible by way of product and production development, by modernization of the production structure, and not least of all by the improvement of incentive conditions.

We are planning in this 5-year plan period the implementation of two central development programs in the processing industry. One is the central development program for pharmaceutical, herbicide and intermedier manufacture. The goal is a significant expansion of profitable export in areas appropriate to Hungarian characteristics. This program is unusual because it is not the state that decides on the individual investments. The state helps in technical development and carries out certain coordination activities. The selection of the products and product groups to be developed and the making of specific investment decisions is primarily the task of the enterprises. Therefore, in addition to the fact that this program contributes to the improvement of the structure of industry, and primarily of the chemical industry, it basically transforms the internal structure of the pharmaceutical enterprises.

[Question] Was this program established because the Hungarian pharmaceutical industry finds it difficult at present to hold its favorable position among the ranking world producers?

[Answer] We are in fact in a favorable position on the world list for exports. But the greater share of our exports goes to socialist countries, and we do not enjoy a good position on the capitalist markets. Thus the program is directed at helping us maintain, even strengthen, our position on the socialist markets and gain a favorable position also on capitalist markets.

The implementation of the central development program for the electronics industry will begin in 1982 in the machine industry. The goal is to permit us to participate more than now in the manufacture of spare parts and component parts. In 1981 we began certain developments for the manufacture of passive spare parts, while in 1982 we shall start development also for the manufacture of the more valuable, active microelectronic spare parts.

[Question] In this area how far are we from the world level?

[Answer] At present we are well behind. The implementation of this program is an attempt to help us keep pace with the world. In no way can we count on moving to the vanguard of world production from one moment to the next. But without implementing the electronics program our lag would be of such extent as to threaten the international competibility of the industrial branches using electronic spare parts, while the execution of the program will bring us nearer to the vanguard level.

I might mention several more areas where even though programs are not being worked out the state is conducting very important economic organizational work. One is the profitable increase in nonruble account trade, and the other is the organization of profitable domestic production to replace nonruble account imports.

[Question] Two main goals face economic policy: one is to maintain the equilibrium of our foreign economic activity in approximate balance, and the other is to stabilize living conditions. Can we emphasize one over the other in 1982?

[Answer] Our 5-year plan sets these two tasks as goals of equal rank. One goal is the main direction of economic activity: enterprise and management work must

first of all promote the effective improvement of the foreign economic equilibrium. The other is an economic and sociopolitical goal, the realization of which, among other things, is the precondition that we shall be able to develop the Hungarian economy under circumstances that will make it possible to attain the above goal. In 1982, a slight shift of emphasis between these two goals will be necessary. In fact, the deterioration in world economic conditions is so serious that it would be possible to improve the foreign economic equilibrium under these deteriorating conditions only at the cost of living standards. Therefore, in drafting the 1982 plan, the position was developed that we must regard the guarding of 1980 living standards as a particularly important priority, and other goals must be subordinated for their preservation.

However, we first subordinated investment concepts and not the creation of a foreign economic equilibrium. In 1982 we will implement fewer investments than we had estimated both in the producer sphere and in the infrastructure. Under such circumstances we could establish the bases for protecting the living standards by taking fewer steps than we had intended under the deteriorating world economic conditions in 1982, and even at the cost of greater efforts and sacrifices, to improve the foreign economic balance.

[Question] To what extent is the production structure of the Hungarian economy adjusting to the requirements of foreign markets?

[Answer] In recent years, we carried out the alteration of the production structure in industry and agriculture, and we achieved good results in a number of areas. However, under the well-known world economic conditions we cannot be satisfied with the development attained in this area. A revival of the necessary intensity cannot be sensed in the modernization and improvement of the production structure.

Finally, what is the basic goal for the development of the production structure? It is to help us improve our external equilibrium, that is, to increase the ratio in production of goods that can be profitably exported. This requires a multifacted basis. One is progress in technical development. And it is precisely in the basic industrial branches--in the machine industry, the processing branches of the chemical industry, and the light industry--that we have not done everything we should. The other is a significant improvement in our market activity. There are shortcomings here, too. And subjective and objective factors are involved. Economic regulation stimulates more than it did before, but still not strongly enough, the producer and foreign trade enterprises to intensify their efforts and to achieve better results even under the conditions that are growing more difficult. In some places, the personnel, leadership and organizational conditions must be improved to gain this end. In a number of areas the organizational situation or the inter-enterprise relations do not adequately support the promotion of technical development or production and commercial work oriented to the market at a more unified and higher level.

Experiences in the development of the world economy also show that in technical development and the manufacture of modern products a small country can achieve significant results only if these are based on broad-scale international work distribution. It is impossible particularly in the processing industrial branches to achieve good results by relying fully or mainly on domestic resources.

In recent years, the economic relations among CEMA countries have not adequately promoted significant advances in the field of improvements in the technical level of production and in the production structure. Our economic relations with the capitalist countries have not established a good basis for this. If we want to make faster progress in the future, and this is necessary and unavoidable, we must create the conditions for this also from the aspect of international work distribution.

We must also see that a large-scale improvement in the production structure can be achieved if development means are more amply available than they are at present. Despite the economic development of energy production, our present possibilities make possible primarily smaller changes within enterprises: modernization of producer equipment, the improvement and rounding out of technology, and the development of the product structure. Basically, in the near future, we shall have possibilities for the development of new technologies or for the carrying out of reconstruction jobs with a great carrying power--which are needed for large structural changes--only in a few areas, and in fact where the investment of means can be recovered rapidly and will effectively help development and the improvement of the equilibrium.

As for the more distant future, we are now drafting the long-term economic plan. Moreover, as we already decided when we were drafting the Sixth Five-Year Plan, the planning organs are already in 1982 looking forward to 1983-1985 as they prepare the 1983 plan. We shall analyze how the Sixth Five-Year Plan will be realized, how the conditions have changed, and what we can count on in the coming years. On the basis of the studies, we can arrive at making specific those ideas on basis of which future decisions can be made for the intensive development of the Hungarian economy.

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SOCIAL BENEFIT PRIORITIES POSE PROBLEMS

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 8, 1981 pp 60-70

[Article by Julia Szalai: "Shortages and Social Selection--Sociopolitical Problems"]

[Text] In recent years we have heard and read more and more about the lack of nursery spaces; about overcrowded kindergartens, classrooms and hospitals; about the shortage of teachers, doctors and nurses; about the threat of closing hospital pavilions that, as a result of lagging reconstruction, verge on collapse; about child-care institutions not being completed on time; about supply-increasing investments that are falling behind; about the long time one must wait for hospital placements and nursery accommodations; about neglected classrooms, shortages of proper hypodermic needles and occasional need to "fill the gaps" in our hospital treatment with more expensive medication purchased from foreign pharmacies. Gradually, these are becoming everyday facts of our lives; before we know it, talking about them will be considered commonplace. One day it is education, the next it is public health where the situation seems intolerable. Officials are acting with haste; people are losing their temper and their patience; accusations are being made against doctors, teachers, parents and students. We are faced with several distorted manifestations of shortage.

The regretful response that we hear day after day from our well-intentioned leaders and experts in responsible positions is: "Yes, we are also aware of these problems, but we must be patient. At the moment we do not have enough money to do anything more." We often hear that our demands exceed our possibilities; articles are written about how our "indolent" population has come to expect everything from the state; accusations are being voiced against the allegedly amoral behavior of various groups. Together, these phenomena indicate the existence of a certain degree of social tension.

In this article--taking my examples primarily from kindergarten services and from the area of public health--I will try to present a general picture of how this situation has evolved, of its self-perpetuating mechanisms and of some of its social consequences. In addition, I will attempt to show that society's answers to the various manifestations of shortage, which always appear temporary, are selective in nature, and that the problem is not only that they are petpetuating and reproducing the shortage, but also that by doing so they are covering up its deeper, structural character.

In this paper I will also discuss the various forms of solution and the attitudes, decisions and steps that have come to life in the crossfire of highly diverse requirements that could be considered typical answers to the shortage situation. Why do the arguments, measures, procedures and decisions adopted by people to eliminate instantly and quickly the shortages in their respective spheres seem so rational and, at the same time, so tension-causing and inconsistent? It is important for us to recognize that these rising social tensions are not the results of individual negligence or violations. Moral considerations, therefore, play no role in evaluating them. Both the pressure to make decisions and to take steps and the removal of that pressure fall outside individual competence.

In this paper I will attempt to present a few of the more deeply rooted social mechanisms that lie behind and day after day help to create these pressures. On the surface it seems that some of the tensions appearing as dilemmas that stem from shortages and scarcities could be significantly eased by eliminating those shortages and by procuring more money and greater capacities. At the end of the article I will also talk about the existence of shortages as not merely a question of economic resources. Due to a lack of space, however, I cannot attempt to do more than merely point out and call attention to these far-reaching social operating functions that concern the basic questions of our socioeconomic system.

A Few Words about How the Present Situation Evolved

The roots of the present situation reach to the end of the 1940's. The new social system established then rested on essentially two basic premises: on the nationalization of the means of production and of the institutions of public consumption and on a centralized and plan-controlled system organized on the basis of state ownership. According to these two basic premises, all socioeconomic phenomena were subject to control from above, and this system was supposed to serve both our political ideological and our socioeconomic goals. One of the great illusions of that era was that these two basic premises would guarantee the creation of a society and an economy more harmonious than anything this world has ever seen and that these two premises would produce a twofold benefit: They would help create an unprecedentedly fair, based on uniform, universal and (often) equal principles of distribution.

It appeared, therefore, that the two, earlier irreconcilably contradictory social desires and requirements--rapid growth and expansion, and social equality--would get along well under socialism. The dynamics would be guaranteed by a planned control of the processes of production. It seemed that this way we would be able to eliminate the loss of time and the "unnecessary waste" that accompany market adjustments. The basic conditions of equality, on the other hand, also seemed to be ensured by a number of radically new rights. The fact that these rights were announced and declared in the form of decrees and laws seemed to ensure their realization automatically.

In most cases, the entitlements provided by these extended rights were tied to employment and social-insurance membership, which automatically accompanied it. Thus, for example, employment provided the legal basis for the use of childcare institutions, and providing free health care to every insured person became our most important insurance service. These radically new, basic legal principles reflected the

plebeian-democratic commitment of this new form of government, as well as the honored social value that it attached to work. In addition to their ideological-political meaning, they also had several economic-social functions significant from the point of view of the newly established economic structure.

The assumption of legal guarantees simultaneously meant that certain needs would be met in the form of social benefits in kind by the state, provided centrally to those entitled. In other words, these services and goods were taken out of the market, and the natural bases, conditions and means were placed under state control. By guaranteeing that from then on these needs would be met in the form of bonuses and benefits, the new government wanted to take the concept of equality, which it had been advocating, and put it into practice. These benefits were to ensure that the ability to satisfy certain basic needs does not depend any more on the financial situation of the given individual or family. This helped to redress some long-standing, centuries-old grievances and meant a radical elimination of some distressing social injustices. In a country where in the first half of the century one-third of the adult population was still illiterate, where thousands of babies and children had died, where illnesses resulting from poverty and destitution had been rampant and where, due to lack of money, tens of thousands of people did not even have the slightest hope of recovering, making the conditions of education and health care independent of one's income was indeed an economic achievement.

At the same time, the work-stimulating role of benefits in kind could not be neglected, since--as already mentioned--the individual had to become employed in order to be entitled to most of them. For a manpower-hungry economic system requiring hugh masses of labor, which advocated full employment both as a sociopolitical and an economic-political goal, this was not without importance either.

Looking at the economic foundations of advocating benefits in kind, it is most important to point out that basically this assumption of guarantees by the central state organs legitimated (and to this day continue to legitimate) keeping wages at a low level; it was able to do so precisely because the purchasing power necessary to fulfill these needs did not have to be built into the wages.

The relatively low wages and the continuation of strict central controls over wage outflows once again had--and still continues to have--several economic, social and political functions, first of all, in our employment policy. Contrary to the earlier model--in which the single earnings of the man had to be essentially sufficient for the entire family--low wages provided the main incentive for women to look for employment, for the two-earner family model to become universal within a short period of time and, in the final analysis, for full employment to become a reality. The employment of women was also connected with emancipatory-democratic values, but at the same time it also helped fulfill the economic need of extensive economic development for large volumes of cheap and unskilled labor.

This cheap work force was not only a source of manpower but also a source of money, a source of divertable funds. The surplus income produced by workers turning out production values in excess of the wages paid to them was one of the most important reserves and resources of central withdrawal and redistribution and of the state budget aiming to promote the expansion of production.

Strict control over wages and their relatively low level was one of the main pillars of the state's anti-inflation policy and at the same time it was also one of the chief obstacles in the way of public ownership, of large private-property accumulations.

All things considered, preconditioning and reinforcing one another, low wages on the one hand and the relatively high proportion of social benefits on the other served political, ideological, economic and social values and interests that were pursued and advocated for many decades. The multiple direct and indirect resource-role of these two sides is unquestionable.

At their inception, however, these new regulatory methods carri[illegible]th them the possibility of a dichatomy and of rippling inner tensions between legal equality and practical inequality, although until about the mid-1960's they remained hidden. One of the manifestations of these basic tensions is the existence of shortages, which have become omnipresent and universal. In the final analysis, the explanation for these shortages lies in the increasingly wider gap between the advocated rights and the possibility of their realization. In order to understand this better, however, we also need to say a few words about the peculiarities of our investment policy and about the factors that will help explain why investments in the nonproductive sphere have been so consistently lagging.

This investment policy (for different reasons, but always negatively) can be broken down to roughly three periods.

In the first period, during the years of postwar reconstruction, the main investment task was clear-cut: almost 40 percent of the nation had been damaged or destroyed and had to be rebuilt; ruined buildings had to be restored and industrial parks that had been almost completely wrecked had to be replaced. Moreover, the task facing the nonproductive sphere was also clear: Welfare measures were needed to meet the basic needs of hundreds of thousands of people in extremely poor physical health, who during the war became even more impoverished than before. For many years, there were rapid increases in these services, using essentially "moneyless" solutions. It was done, on the one hand, by democratic utilization and "distribution" of the infrastructure that had been so very rapidly built up during the 1920's and 1930's and, on the other, by dynamic organization. The rapid and spectacular results--primarily in the area of public health and especially in the successful struggle against the Hungarian disease, tuberculosis--promised continued successes along this course.

The second period, from the beginning of the 1950's to the mid-1960's, coincided with the era of extensive economic development. At the beginning of the 1950's, it seemed to be unquestionably in the interest of the total economy and to be the priority of society as a whole, to take the scarce financial means and capacities available at the time and use them to transform radically and quickly the existing economic system, by investing them primarily in industry. Presenting themselves as "golden egg-laying chickens," forced-paced industrialization and later the organization of producer cooperatives gave clear-cut priority--in the distribution of resources, manpower, financial means and ideologies--to the productive branches of the economy; hoping to bring about quick increases in the national income, they diverted means from the nonproductive sphere, and even from private consumption and the living standard of the population.

By the second half of the 1960's the possibilities of extensive economic development ended. It is less known, however, that the reserves of extensive growth ran out not only in the productive spheres but also in the infrastructure and in the area of public consumption. While, however, in the first case the 1968 mechanism-reform brought truly significant changes and, even if at the cost of creating some tensions, has helped the productive sectors to get over their impasse, it brought new and unique disadvantages for the nonproductive branches.

Relatively speaking, during this third reform-initiated period, to the present, the possibilities of increasing investments in the nonproductive sphere have even deteriorated somewhat. They have done so as a result of transformations in the budgetary structure--placing an emphasis on individual living-standard policies--that have used rapid increases in monetary benefits and annual expansions in social-insurance expenditures unheard of in earlier decades, to preserve the "legitimacy-principle" of social benefits. The past 15 years of development in the budgetary branches have been characterized by a relative drop in the proportion of investments and by a rapid increase in monetary and income-type expenditures. In utilizing the financial assets obtainable for sociopolitical purposes, therefore, increasing personal income has become the predominant way of promoting the expansion of services and proving the state's commitment to its citizens.

Strangely, however, instead of helping to offset the deterioration of quality, overuse and inadequacy of public consumption funds, the accelerated growth of the population's monetary income has only worsened them. The reason for this is that personal consumption and public consumption are only seemingly--or, more precisely, only from the state budget's point of view--alternatives of one another, but not from the standpoint of private consumption (for no matter how high personal incomes are, theoretically they will buy neither education nor drinking water nor hospital care). The nonproductive sphere itself has had to pay for the living-standard policy decisions made at the end of the 1960's. The development rate and the investment and financial possibilities of public consumption have failed to keep pace with the broadening of individual and family opportunities. The resulting tensions have perhaps been the most intensely felt in the public education system and health care.

For 30 years, therefore, due to a series of economic and social decisions, nothing was done to expand the bases of benefits in-kind within the nonproductive sphere or to help them attain an appropriate level. This 30-year period, however, is a long time. It has been long enough to allow certain attitudes to evolve, that have adapted and adjusted themselves to the role of always having to play "second fiddle," to being forced to accept the producing spheres' ever-prevailing priority and to being unable to compete with production. It has been sufficiently long to bring about innovations in our reasoning and in our interest representation that have produced some spectacular results, despite constant shortages of funds and assets and to develop defensive, self-perpetuating and--from the point of view of the economic and social structure--organically appropriate processes of satisfying rising demands for benefits in-kind characteristic of this sphere.

Allow Claimants to Assert Themselves

When money and capacities for supply-increasing investments are lacking, yet the assumed state obligations still have to be met and the rapidly expanding circle of entitled claimants still has to be satisfied, the most expedient solutions, at the

same time yield the quickest and most spectacular results. Among the most important of these is accommodation-organization. Indeed, accommodations can be created virtually from nothing. They do not require much money; all they take is an empty store, warehouse, a vacant apartment and of course a little bit of good will and ingenuity. This kind of investment-free accommodation-organization to this day has characterized the building of child-care institutions, as well as the expansion of health care services, and has put our unquestioned achievements into such attractive statistical light. While the average age of our operating hospitals is 75 years and the bulk of our hospital-building stock still consists of relatively well-preserved buildings built in the mid-1920's (not a single hospital was built until the mid-1960's) and while 65 percent of our kindergartens have been operating in houses built before 1944, half originally not meant to serve as kindergartens, our capacities expressed in terms of numbers of accommodations have spectacularly increased.

This increase in accommodations (in the absence of new buildings) was realized with a relative decrease in room and space, which is clearly indicated by the following ratios: While--as we have just seen--the number of kindergarten accommodations in 1978 and 267 percent greater than in 1955, the increase in the number of kindergartens was considerably more moderate--175 percent (at the same time, the average size of our kindergartens does not exceed the old ones).

Behind the 230 percent indicator, representing the increase in the accommodation possibilities of nursery placement compared to the 1955 levels, the 172 percent index number of nursery growth is also an indication of a more modest development.

Development of a Few Accommodation-Related Data

Year	Kindergarten accommodations		Nursery accommodations		The factual daily figure of polyclinical and specialist work-hours		Number of hospital beds	
	Number	1955=100	Number	1955=100	Number of hours	1955=100	Number of beds	1955=100
1955	129,344	100	25,243	100	15,852	100	61,765	100
1960	162,282	125	29,436	117	18,995	120	69,718	113
1965	185,768	144	35,184	139	25,618	162	76,961	125
1968	194,438	150	39,140	155	28,675	181	81,004	131
1970	208,647	161	40,010	159	30,713	194	83,754	136
1975	295,722	229	49,986	198	34,984	221	89,063	144
1978	345,374	267	58,073	230	36,391	230	92,972	151

It has not been any different in our hospitals. Every square inch of ground has been covered with beds, filling--as if organized by way of multiplication--hallways, former doctor's offices and examining rooms. Even if in some of our mental wards the beds are straw mattresses and old folding beds, they are nevertheless suitable for accommodating patients and thus can give the impression that there has been a significant increase in capacities. All of this happens while, even according to a truly conservative building survey by technical experts, the available basic area in 1979 was 25 percent (a nearly 500,000 m^2 area) less than needed to ensure average operating conditions.

Similar organizational methods have been used also to set up district doctor's offices. In the given situation, our local public health officials, who despite their financial restraints and reduced flexibility of movement have worked with great ingenuity, feel great pride, and justly so, in explaining to us how to get information --through good relations--about vacant collective premises in various residential buildings and what has to be done and how many ingenious methods can be used to put a doctor's office in them. (Of course, in other areas the same stories can be heard from some ingenious "education-people."

Accommodation-organization, however, is not the only form of extensive service expansion. Overcrowding and "rotating" the existing accommodations are still newer ways of exploring and utilizing available resources. All this takes, also, is a little goodwill, some understanding of our "temporary difficulties" and some patience.

"I would like to make an announcement. At the school-year opening conference of department heads (in August 1979), the head of the City Council's Main Department for Culture made the following statements: Let there not be a single district in the city with capacity-utilization levels under 130 percent. You already know how it once was...we have the---kindergarten with its temporary accommodations, then we have the kindergarten on P. square, plus our apartment-kindergartens. As representatives of the city, you must understand, therefore, that I am aware of how very few accommodations we have, of the existence of 33 vacant kindergarten-teacher positions --I could go on. But this is not the first time that something like this has happened. Comrades, these problems must be solved. Please do not try to convince me how difficult this will be, because I also come from a group, and I have not forgotten what it is like to be with 40 kids instead of 25. These problems must be solved, my colleagues. So, our new kindergartens should be filled to 140 percent, and our old ones should be looked at on a case-by-case basis. I know kindergartens, I know how much and what they are able to endure. After all, we cannot allow 250 children to be left without accommodations. That would mean 250 mothers, 250 workers," pointed out one of our district level education-department heads in his instructions to his employees and colleagues, the head kindergarten teachers, at the conference on coordinating admissions.

Similar rationale has been used to justify filling nurseries to 120 to 130 percent capacity, claiming that this has become necessary in view of our national economic interests and the temporary difficulties resulting from demographic fluctuations.

In our hospitals, rotation even has a name. They call it bed-turning. The fact that for decades there has been a constant reduction in the length of patient care is a clear indication: It has worked effectively. The annually dropping minute-average of examination time in outpatient services clearly shows that excessively "good" utilization of the possibilities of access within the "organized reception hours" may threaten medical activities themselves and may jeopardize efforts to provide minimum health services.

Of course, the augmentation--and, even beyond that, the overcrowding of accommodations--does have its own consequences. Today the repercussions of "lacking funds," or more precisely of expanding supplies without building investments, are already beginning to make themselves felt from many directions, first of all, in the unavoidable deterioration of the physical state and condition of these institutions. Statistics, which continue to mirror one-sided achievements before the services and

benefits provided by the non-productive sphere, tell us little; reports in the daily press and on the TV news about dilapidated nursery fences, about schools vacated in panic when even forests of scaffolding cannot prop them up, about hospital wards with dripping ceilings and about collapsed buildings, do give us some idea about the dramatic character of the situation, even if they do not present a combined order of magnitude.

Occasional data indicate that during the 15 years, for example, the annual rate of increase in the number of permanently discontinued hospital beds has exceeded expansion by 2.5 times.

According to official assessments, one-fifth of our existing hospital buildings need complete rehabilitation, another one-third require reconstruction and renovation; only the smaller half are in good enough condition to require only regular maintenance work. The money requirement of rehabilitation and reconstruction of buildings and beds would be 41 billion forints (at 1979 prices), nearly 20 times the annual development fund earmarked for public health.

A long list of additional signs could be mentioned to illustrate this drop in quality; even though they are hard to grasp in terms of technical parameters, they are undoubtedly interrelated and can be felt from many directions. Among these, we could mention our worsening mortality statistics; our increasing patient turnover statistics, which in part are attributable to our increasingly frequent child neurosis and malnourishment cases; our schools, which in certain areas must operate in three shifts and where nobody dares to expect educational-pedagogical activities any more; and also occasional--in the absence of other possibilities--"support allowances" to pedagogues by the council, just to try to get them to do at least something under those difficult circumstances.

If There Is No Money, Measures Must Be Taken

Our problems, functional disorders and alarm signals, therefore, continue to multiply, while our available funds remain the same. Our only available course of action, therefore, is to take certain measures. Measures, however--no matter how justified in the given situation--always carry an official connotation and at the same time they always imply a certain dependence on power. In other words, they imply using the influence of power to secure the acceptance of a given official solution to a given situation.

The measures implemented amid shortages of money and capacities have been diverse and have had various, not so insignificant, functions. Let us examine these one by one.

1) Hidden entitlement-cutting measures. Inasmuch as the sphere's main activity is to uphold the legitimate principle of benefits and state-assumed obligations, statutory provisions and comprehensive decrees are passed from time to time to strengthen eligibility rights to child-care institution services, which today are virtually unlimited, and civic entitlements to health-care services. As temporary measures, however, forced by the urgency of a given situation and with the appearance of retraction at any time, orders could be issued that could, nevertheless, curtail the circle of people eligible for entitlements and could help ease "momentary"

shortages by--at least in part--temporarily suppressing and limiting "demands." In the past few years, orders of this kind have been issued both in education and in public health.

A good example of this is the limitation of eligible applicants for admission to kindergarten. A 1969 order was still only trying to lay down a guiding principle when it declared that children of parents receiving child-care assistance may only be admitted if there are sufficient accommodations or if strong reasons justify their admission (for example, adverse social conditions or if the child in question is 5 years old; that is, if he is in the upper-level kindergarten age-group, requiring preparatory-school training). In 1979, referring to this order, the Capital City Council issued a circular letter, which contained some amendments, and the guiding principle turned into a prohibition. In kindergarten admissions, where the primary concern is how to turn a few accommodations into more and how to place more children, it seemed obvious for the district councils to use child-care benefits as an "alternative solution" to disqualify people from admission. After all, there are so many children for whom daytime supervision is completely inextricable from kindergarten. From their own point of view, therefore, the arguments presented at a conference discussing petitions of appeal for kindergarten admission seemed logical.

"Children of parents receiving child-care benefits--in view of our difficult economic situation and the shortage of accommodations--may not be admitted. The guiding principle, according to which all upper-level kindergarten-age children should attend kindergarten, is very nice. The effectiveness of the time spent in kindergarten cannot be compared with the results of even the most magnificent and most beautiful home. The reasons behind our inability to implement these great plans have been purely economic. Today our goal is clear-cut: to try, as much as possible, to fill every kindergarten, so that more and more parents can work. It follows, unfortunately, that all children whose mothers are at home must be eliminated from consideration. What is more, in so far as an upper-level child is receiving child-care benefits, he must be expelled, because he can be replaced by a parent who can work; this would provide our national economy with an additional worker.

"I am sorry, but this is what we have to do. Obviously, last year when the shoe was not quite this tight in every district, some were expelling, others were not. There were instances where this was done mid-year. Clearly, this was the reason why the order was issued well after admissions had been concluded, after it had been tested and after the first wave had already been driven back."

During the child-care-benefit eligibility period, the recipient's employment (and, therefore, entitlement to kindergarten benefits) is not broken off; also, the reason a mother receiving child-care benefits stays at home, is to care for her children under 3 years of age, and here her children older than 3 are being discussed--but necessity knows no law.

Restrictions on childcare benefits, however, are not the only measures that can be used to help create kindergarten accommodations. Let us take regular child-rearing subsidies, for example, which can also be effectively "utilized" for this purpose. One way of doing this would be for the council to require mothers to stay home in order to receive payment ("since because of their low wages--compensated for by the promised child-rearing subsidies--they would not be losing much, anyway"). Thus,

while passing out subsidies with its left hand, with its right the council would immediately "create" 2 to 3 kindergarten spaces. It is possible, and also customary, to see to it that children of caretaker parents stay home--of course, not by force and only for those transitional years--and also to keep at home those children who are living with grandma (and in all probability doing so under tight conditions), seeing that somebody is already at home.

In some areas, therefore, the pressure exerted on the councils, resulting from the manpower needs of our national economy, and the difficult conditions under which decisions must be made, may be threatening even those entitlements already enacted into law. At the time these fire-fighting type emergency measures are taken, it is not customary (nor is it possible) to start pondering over the fact that these decisions may suddenly make a virtue of different necessities; i.e., if, as a result, people must live under crowded living conditions, if they are poor (and because of their below-minimum pension-level wages are "eligible to receive" assistance) and if, because of their low wages, it is "worth it" for them to stay on child-care-benefit assistance for a longer period. To put it plainly, it will keep precisely and not just accidentally, out of kindergarten those children who come from less well-off families, because those families have somebody to take care of them during the day. They become "weeded out" of kindergartens, which incidentally perform a program-like preschool preparatory training for primary school that is mandatory and can only admit school-matured (properly prepared) children into its regular (i.e., not correctional or auxiliary) classes.

In public health, even more comprehensive orders have been passed to limit the mass of demands considered excessively inflated. In general, these measures are not truly well-meaning, either toward the patient or toward the doctor. Let us take disability, pay measures, for example. There is an order in effect even today that requires the enterprises to bear the burden of disability payments for illnesses lasting less than 3 days. It seems to suggest that nobody can be sick for that short a period of time. If they are, then they are not entitled to this particular service of our social insurance program. (The money-saving considerations and economic effectiveness of this measure are hard to justify, for only 1.7 percent of the aggregate number of disability-payment days is carried to the "enterprises' debit." What is more important in this measure is the directive that it contains. Namely, it makes it the enterprise's job to treat disability payments as matters of work discipline. It must see to it that it is not dealing with "malingerers" or disability-benefit defrauders; if necessary, it must bring action against them, using the labor code if it comes to that, by promising to suspend their employment and even by threatening to fire them.)

Even though disability-benefit regulations, such as the ones adopted by some of our megyes, forbidding district doctors to accept disability payments in the case of two such widespread diseases as rheumatism and neurosis, are meant to impose restrictions, they probably only add to the duplication of efforts and to our administrative burdens.

Yet, distinguishing them from other illnesses does "make sense." They attract attention: They suggest that there are legitimate and not-so-legitimate health complaints, that there are justified and unjustified reasons behind applying for disability pay and, when we come right down to it, that there are people who are really sick and those who are not. (We often hear the following view: "Anybody can say that he has an aching lower back or a sore back, you know. That should not prevent him from going to work.") This kind of sick person, therefore,--if he is truly sick--should

make extra efforts. He should see his district doctor and request a transfer order; after that, he should go to a specialist's office. If there his complaint is determined to be truly "just," then he will be eligible for disability pay. In the meantime, sporadic morbidity studies have shown that rheumatism and neurosis are indeed endemic diseases. They simply have not been recognized as such.

Administrative measures ordering direct prohibition are not as humane as those guiding principles that hope to lay down centrally specified priority principles to establish a more equitable way of dividing up accessibility.

In public health, these kinds of priority principles are heard mostly at the drafting of development goals. Although the recently much-talked-about, but in practice not yet perfected (and probably hard-to-perfect), idea of progressive patient-care also proposes similar ideas to make patient-turnover distribution more efficient. According to these, sick people should be classified according to the seriousness of their illnesses and "placed" at the appropriate hierarchial step of our public health institution system; everybody should be treated at the appropriate level. Due to a lack of objective standards, the degree of a disease's verity is a question of interpretation; setting up a hierarchy of diseases would hardly be possible, unless it is based on their "social verity." This argument, however, could be of service to our various institutions competing for scarce investment goods; the special profile may confirm their position of indispensability, which also means power.

Every year, before kindergarten admissions begin, primary preferences for admittance are announced. Priority must be given to children of single parents, children whose fathers are serving as military conscripts, those children previously enrolled in nurseries, children of gypsy families, children of families living under adverse social conditions, children of manual laborers, children of teacher-parents and children of public-health workers.

It is not hard to see that distribution cannot be regulated by these principles and that the extent of the sphere they encompass puts the principle itself in doubt. Making them public, however, does have a function--even beyond giving expression to ongoing official efforts; they help preserve and stress the grant-like character of benefits. When somebody gets a kindergarten accommodation, he gets it not because it is his right but because an official decision favors him. Furthermore, priority principles can both emphasize and exclude. Those who because of this and given this as an explanation for being excluded from actual admission and who, therefore, are unable to get in, may come to feel that precisely the preferred groups have caused this. Instead of turning against the council that has failed to build enough kindergartens, various groups of the population are turning against one another. It does not even occur to them that if more kindergartens and more accommodations were built, then nobody would have to be emphasized or excluded. Since "money is in short supply," this investment-delaying, confrontation-causing popular sentiment also has a "functional" place.

2) We must have more rational organization to overcome this difficult situation..." Another category of official steps taken in response to the shortages includes various measures of nationalization. They usually promise greater lucidity, better organization and better utilization of resources, means and manpower. Orders issued recently concerning the regionalization of schools, the merging of nurseries and the integration of public-health service institutions have cited professional, administrative and economic reasons to rationalize themselves.

Behind the diverse designations, we find similar contents. Merged institutions are larger, and in the competition for distribution theoretically stronger than they would be individually. All this, however, comes at the cost of increased differences within the merged institution, to the advantage of the leading institution and to the detriment of the "regionalized" and "integrated" others. The special preferential treatment given to the leading institution also strengthens its basic principle and power; this institutionally revived hierarchy brings spontaneous social movements. People living in villages without a school of their own move away (often precisely to find proper education for their children) when given a chance. Similar processes can be observed among kindergartens placed under a single leader, that have been merged into administrative-economic blocks. Within these block-kindergartens, children of parents who are better off and who have better connections have a greater chance to get into a better kindergarten. Behind this unity created by the institutional merger, social selection becomes harder to detect and remains virtually unnoticed.

In public health, integration has not done much to ease the turnover in out-patient services or to help reduce "unnecessary duplications." Our experiences have shown that they have allowed the leading institution, the hospital, to use "in-house" standards for redistributing scarce funds, manpower and wages, thus hiding differentiation once again behind the slogan "we are a unified institution." At the same time, in-house movement has again helped to increase the opportunities of those who are better off, while narrowing the alternatives facing those who are in a less favorable situation. Although we do not have any comprehensive data concerning the social composition of patient turnover, we can easily see that the growing differentiation among our institutions is closely interrelated, and is gaining strength, with the spontaneous movement of social groups. It is easier to get a hospital transfer before one's turn if the institution (person) making out and approving the transfer application is one and the same, providing that the applicant also has good connections. But this will not increase the number of hospital beds and will only worsen the possibilities of access for those who have neither money nor connections.

Mergers and rationalizations, therefore, are measures that, in order to overcome shortages, increase and rigidify hierarchial differences. While, using unification, they have been able to hide the fact of these shortages, instead of eliminating them, they have helped to perpetuate and probably even worsen them.

"We Need Society's Help"

So far, the solutions and measures we have talked about have been responses from the "inside" to scarcities of budgetary funds and capacities, and they all have used forced steps to alleviate shortages of funds and means. Money, assistance and means --even if not in sufficient amounts--are available, if not in the "inside," then from external sources, with the help of a ready-to-help attitude and social cooperation on the part of our enterprises and the population.

The megye councils have prepared the social work-balance of the Fifth Five-Year Plan --MEPSZABADSAG announced on 22 February 1981. With unconcealed pride, it pointed out that every year there has been an increase in the total value of volunteer work; in 1980 the value of "collaboration" reached 4.7 billion forints. The most important news of all, the total volunteer-work output of the past five years amounted

to 20 billion forints, thus exceeding the planned 8.5-billion forint level. "This is how our population has contributed to the expansion of factory collectives and settlements--by creating a 10 percent growth in the total investments of the councils." What was built? "Instead of giving a list, let us demonstrate with a few examples": a health care center; an old people's home; using materials of demolished buildings; a go-cart track; also suitable for international competitions; a school; a gymnasium; playgrounds; settlement parks and parking lots; child-care institutions; etc. The article also tells us that society's readiness to help will be just as needed during the Sixth Five-Year Plan just underway; it also makes it the duty of local party committees and Patriotic People's Front basic organizations to organize these vitally important volunteer activities.

During the past 10 to 12 years, we have also seen the development of several other forms of joint sociopolitical activities. The enterprises have been using a part of their welfare and cultural fund to transfer money to the councils, which are using that money to build kindergartens and nurseries; in exchange for the money and the assistance they provide, they enjoy permanent accommodations. In other cases, they enter into socialist contracts under which the factories offer labor, money, building capacities and maintenance work; in exchange, the factory workers' children receive "child-placement" in the local kindergarten for the years of the agreement. Not only the councils, however, are involved in negotiating agreements. Under the program, "one factory--one kindergarten," permanent relations have been established between sponsoring enterprises and child-care institutions, which have been fruitful for both sides. The socialist brigades of the enterprises take care of the painting and the repair of buildings and maintaining the furnace and the water-pipe network: this is also how furniture and modern visual aids are provided. These are all necessary things. The councils' fixed budget cannot cover them all. It is understandable that the parent who provides this kind of essential help is given special consideration at admission-time, if the promise and expectation of enterprise support are a stronger reason for giving preference than the official priority principles in the competition for kindergarten accommodations. Given the existing shortage of funds, this is a necessary development.

The problem, however, is that not every parent can find a sponsoring enterprise, socialist brigade, a promise of socialist collaboration, or bring from his firm a 5,000 forint ticket of purchase. There are people whose only argument is that they are employed and that they are residents of the district. If they do not have good connections, which could somehow strengthen their position in the competition, they must accept the fact that, according to written conditions of entitlement, need and scarcity by themselves carry increasingly less weight under conditions characterized by shortages.

The equality principle of sociopolitical services, which at one time had been promised to be uniform, is falling victim to shortages and to the selective mechanisms (both institutional and spontaneous) built on them. Equal entitlements are coupled not only with the growing inequalities of actual utilization but also--as a natural development--with constantly stronger differentiations within the institutional system. The few kindergartens, schools and nurseries that enjoy enterprise support and "social collaboration" would inevitably be impoverished and fall behind in an institutional system that, both theoretically and openly, is maintained not from enterprise support but from state and local budgets.

Various forms of cooperation with the enterprises--with a few years of delay--have also been established in public health services. The maintenance and repair of doctor's offices and hospitals are provided through socialist contracts. Agreements with enterprises enable our public health institutions to procure otherwise unobtainable machines and instruments. In exchange, separate reception sectors, reception hours and doctors are made available to these workers. The "outside" assistance requirement of public health services--uniform according to their principles, hoping to adjust to the needs for medical treatment, and accessible and free to everyone--and the necessary measures taken in response to shortages have led to even sharper differentiations; the 16-fold regional differences in the per-capita budget sums of unified basic services (district-doctor services) represent only one aspect of this problem. The fact of eventually closed district-doctor's offices in district left unfilled for an extended period of time; the complaints and unmet needs of elderly village residents, who under the emergency measures adopted in the place of continuous consultation-hours have no access to a doctor, and sporadic data concerning the social-regional turnover of specialist's offices, provide some additional insight.

As a result of the differentiation among our various institutions, made even more pronounced by the spontaneous movement of social groups, the shortages will also become more differentiated. Shifting the burdens of state responsibility back to the enterprises and the population, therefore, will not help to overcome the shortages but instead will worsen them. As a consequence, less essential employees, social groups who do not enjoy the background support of a firm and do not have good connections, who have only their "plain" rights, are pushed to the bottom of the hierarchy and can expect no, or only lesser-quality, service. All of this, however, is obscured or made less visible by the fact that in the eyes of the people affected and of the institutions these shortages seem localized and only temporary.

The problems of child-care institutions and schools appear as temporary problems, resulting from demographic fluctuations and from the population concentrations caused by the attraction of new urban districts and residential sections, which can be resolved within a few years. To this seemingly temporary state of affairs, the councils and the responsible organs of expert guidance have responded by offering fire-fighting measures to alleviate the momentary situation, by looking and searching for bridging possibilities, coupling them with various arguments asking people to be patient and understanding.

In this respect, the structural deficiencies of public health are of a different nature. Here, arguments of temporariness do not come into play. In most cases, helpless emotions produce not pity but accusations. Blaming the situation on deteriorating morale and on the gratuity problem, they are calling to life some pseudo explanations and pseudo measures. These prohibiting measures, administrative procedures and directives, however, do not, and indeed cannot, reestablish social equality in access to medical care as promised, nor can they restore proper quality services and operating abilities, not even if we are told by signs displayed, in accordance with one of the most recent orders of the Minister of Health, in the hallways of all public health institutions--public health services are uniform and free and, by virtue of their citizenship, every Hungarian citizen is entitled to them.

In conclusion, I must devote a few words to the frequent question: Would shortages and the selective mechanisms built on them disappear, if suddenly we had much more money and capacities at our disposal? This is really two questions in one and,

therefore, the answer also should be twofold. The first is the question of absolute shorgages. Putting an end to rapid deterioration, operational inability and elementary shortages that immediately catch the eye--regardless whether we talk about schools, kindergartens, district-doctor's offices or hospitals--demands money, wherever it may come from. Every hypodermic needle purchased is a hypodermic needle, every instrument put in operation is an instrument and every tool bought is a tool; in this sense, in the final analysis, they do help to alleviate service deficiencies. They help, wherever the money and the capacities may come from, or go (within the institutional system). Of the various forms of outside assistance, therefore, everything returned into services (even though at the cost of growing inequalities) will help to reduce absolute shortages. (From this point of view, money, finding its way from one pocket into another, as the competition for scarce opportunities intensifies --although their existence is a direct and natural consequence of the shortage, and as such is not a moral question--is different in nature from enterprise-institutional assistance and volunteer work.)

The situation is different when we look at differential shortages or, to put it simply, the growing differences among institutions serving theoretically identical purposes: the hierarchy of institutions, the discrepancies in the quality of services at the various levels of the hierarchy and the growing social inequalities connected with them. In public health and education, this division--the separation of high- and low-quality institutions--is obviously not a question of money, although the more and more institutionalized divisions and the increasingly more manifest differentiations do have--due to the inequalities connected with them--direct repercussions on the distribution of money (too).

The existence of specialized kindergartens and special hospitals not only strengthens their monopoly position, it not only makes social inequalities more pronounced but it also increases the scarcities and shortages in special-quality services. The problem of these differential shortages, however, takes us to the basic questions of the self-preserving mechanism of our social structure. We are not talking simply about filling some gaps and meeting some shortages and deficiencies but about the methods of protecting some of the advantages that we have gained despite the shortages; about power, interests; and about the possibilities of representing and asserting those interests. These possibilities are quite different for social groups, institutions and organizations of different situations.

9379
CSO: 2500/83

MILITARY COMMISSIONER EVALUATES POZNAN SITUATION

Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish 20 Dec 81 p 1

[Interview with Brig Gen (pilot) Michal Polech, commissioner-plenipotentiary of the Military Council of National Salvation to the Governor of Poznan, by Kazimierz Marcinkowski]

[Text] [Question] At such a moment as the present one, every Pole shares some part of joint responsibility for the fate of our Fatherland. However, a particular responsibility rests on the Polish Army, which received an order of highest importance: to save the Fatherland.

[Answer] This is true, our task is extremely important, particularly because it concerns the Army which operates within the territory of the country. This is why General Jaruzelski and the Military Council of National Salvation attach such a great importance to a peaceful solution of our problems. I emphasize--there is no other way. This is our land. Hence, there are various advantages, but also difficulties. Personally, I can state with satisfaction, that I found myself in a voivodship, where the people accepted the present situation with a sense of responsibility and dignity.

[Question] Does this find an expression in everyday working relationships between the military and the community?

[Answer] Except for sporadic incidents, we have experienced various and numerous expressions of help. We have encountered real community discipline, earnest compliance with rules, interdictions and orders resulting from the decree on martial law. Precisely, such an attitude has made it possible for us to step forward with the initiative to reduce the time of obligatory curfew hours, considerable moderation in the severity of private automobile transportation, relaxation of contacts between the inhabitants of certain parishes and the seat of the voivodship.

[Question] Comrade General, do you obtain the information about the situation and the population feelings from reports, or do you also find time for direct contacts with people and the local authorities.

[Answer] Yesterday, I was in the area of Szamotuly, Duszniki and Opalenica parishes. I noticed that people feel better at work, they seem eager to work.

Often they express gratitude to the military, who through the action of operational groups have contributed to an improvement of the commercial apparatus, to a better distribution of goods, and also to breaking of local cliques, quite often made up of relatives, which rendered work and life difficult for hundreds of people. These people not only thank us for military help, but volunteer suggestions and help. They know where evil is to be found--and we take advantage of this. Every signal is treated seriously. Initiatives from factories are also welcome. For example, the "Centra" enterprise in Poznan is increasing the production of goods in great demand.

[Question] It is not a secret that the appearance of military uniforms considerably "stimulated" the activity of state administrative organs on all levels.

[Answer] True, before papers were sometimes passed from hand to hand for weeks. Now, many matters are settled on the spot. A definite increase in vitality in administrative work and greater efficiency can be observed. The activity of the district party organization, which whole-heartedly took care of workers' problems is to be praised highly. And it is precisely to such operation of political echelons and administration organs that we are indebted for the present state and public atmosphere in the Poznan voivodship. On this occasion, I wish to add that thanks are also due to the church action in our territory. I had a meeting with Archbishop Jerzy Stroba, who assured me that the church will work toward social peace. His words were kept, which makes us happy.

As we are talking toward the end of the year, I would like to thank wholeheartedly all the inhabitants of the Poznan voivodship for the so-far friendly attitude and understanding for the present situation, and to wish them a gradual, systematic improvement in the new year of 1982.

[Question] Thank you for this conversation and our best wishes to you.

9841
CSO: 2600/216

ROLE, ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY COMMISSIONERS DESCRIBED

Activities in Zoliborz

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 16 Dec 81 p 3

[Article by Maj Janusz Borkowski]

[Text] It is Tuesday afternoon, the 3rd day of martial law. More petitioners come to the headquarters of the Warsaw-Zolibroz city-district office. They come to settle matters resulting from the restrictions, the orders and the prohibitions ushered in by the Council of State decree. The majority of the citizens desire information and permission to change their locations during the approaching holidays. Family matters predominate. Nor is there a lack of newlyweds who, despite hard times, have decided to marry.

The work of the office is carried out in a serious atmosphere. Undoubtedly, this is due to the country's situation, of which all are bearing the brunt. The presence of uniformed staff--evidence that the military has assumed control over the city-district work of the authorities--evokes this mood among administrative workers and petitioners alike.

Concern over Law and Order

One of the rooms houses the headquarters of the plenipotentiaries--the military commissioners appointed by the National Defense Committee [KOK]. These functions, under the manager of the Zoliborz city-district, are fulfilled by Maj (engineer) Zygmunt Mazur and Maj Andrzej Boczkowski. They have at their disposal a group of officer-specialists from the various services and soldiers whose basic military service has been extended. For the sake of more efficient operation, the city-district has been divided into two operational zones subject to the commissioners. This enables them to grasp the basic problems troubling Zoliborz residents relatively quickly.

"As it happens, we are well aware of the problems encountered by the manager in solving citizens' living problems," says Maj Mazur. "We managed to become familiar with them during our previous work within the Local City Operational Groups. Thanks to this, we are prepared under the new circumstances to direct the tasks of the city-district authorities toward those problems, the solution of which is particularly essential to return life to normal."

One such problem, of which residents have frequently informed us, is settling matters associated with the employment of certain citizens. As known, a certain number of persons capable of work and living within the city-district are avoiding finding work. These issue from the so-called social fringe. They direct all their energies toward ensuring a comfortable, carefree life at the expense of others. In accordance with a decision made by the military commissioner, the city-district manager has been ordered to compile a list of these persons without delay and to develop a plan for employing them in the department of communal services. Those who continue to shirk working will be subject to stiff penalties.

At the same time, military representatives have advised city-district authorities to wage decisive battle against all manifestations and forms of speculation. The first decision in this regard is the closing of the Persian Market on Wolumen street, until its removal. This order likewise states that all sales of goods outside the trade network may occur only at prices conforming with obligatory prices. All excesses will be handled by the applicable legal sanctions.

Satisfying Basic Needs

The next sphere of interest of the military commissioners is to supply city-district residents with basic food and consumer goods. Maj Janusz Pietkiewicz is directly concerned with these matters. He works in close cooperation with the department of trade and oversees its work.

"On Monday we noted an excessive repurchase of bread and flour products. But today there is already some improvement in this regard. The bakeries are working at full strength. We have not discovered any transgressions in the operation of delivery transport. The attitude of bakers is worthy of merit. With full understanding they are meeting society's needs," he said.

The commissioners accord special recognition to Tadeusz Fijalkowski, who runs his own bakery at 12 Rudzka Street. During the early morning hours, one can buy 14 different kinds of bread at his store. While other stores have a temporary shortage of bread, there is always bread on this tradesman's shelves.

There is also an appreciable improvement in supplying residents with milk. While slight delays in deliveries do occur, these will be eliminated within the next few days. The commissioners are aiming to see that those employees who come into the stores early do not have to wait for goods, but that the goods wait for sales personnel.

Military representatives have been closely controlling the operation of the city-district trade network. They have discovered no irregularities in the operation of stores. Personnel are fulfilling their duties with a full understanding of the situation. Undoubtedly, the attitude of the clientele, who make their indispensable purchases peaceably, also affects their good work.

The declaration of martial law has produced an increase in activity, above all in stores handling food trade. In order to maintain the continuity of the sale of these articles, city-district authorities have decided to introduce certain restrictions on the purchase of some goods. Accordingly, a customer may buy in a single purchase only 2 kg of bread, 2 kg of potatoes, 1 kg of groats, 1 kg of salt and 5 boxes of matches.

At the same time, a representative of the WSS [Voivodship Consumer Cooperative] "Spolem" directorate has been delegated to supervise the efficient distribution of goods within the rationing system. Eleven stores have been selected to receive additional deliveries of bread during the afternoon hours, depending upon demand. The purchase of basic food articles by persons caring for the sick or the handicapped has been made possible in all trade establishments. However, such persons must give prior evidence of the relevant need to the store manager.

An Increase in Social Discipline

In the estimation of the military commissioners and the city-district authorities, life in Zoliborz is becoming stabilized. Conditions have already been created for normal production by the work forces of factories in this city-district. Municipal emergency services are operating more and more efficiently. However, in the opinion of manager Jozef Lewandowski, minor deficiencies in residential matters present a number of problems. These can be eliminated to the extent that the energies and means allow.

In the opinion of the military, the residents of Zoliborz have submitted to all compulsory requirements of martial law. This directly affects the normalization of life and the restoration of the proper operational rhythm of administrative and economic elements.

Likewise, among the numerous matters with which citizens approach the manager or the military commissioners directly, are those that must be settled on the basis of separate decisions. These include such matters as facilitating the purchase of gasoline for car owners who must leave Warsaw. In justifiable cases, the city-district manager will determine the amount of fuel and will grant permission for its purchase at stations of the CPN [Petroleum Products Center].

The military commissioners, with the local authorities, concentrated their primary efforts during the first days of activity on solving the most pressing problems troubling Zoliborz residents. Such action will be maintained. The symptoms of positive change in the operation of the administration, its efficient investigation of all matters and the normalization of communal trade and economic activity augur for the systematic improvement of the living conditions of this city-district.

Activities in Sochaczew

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 12-20 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by Maj Janusz Borkowski]

[Text] "Officer, look, it's unbelievable," a corpulent gentlemen blusters. "I don't recognize these clerks. Just 2 weeks ago they were sending me from one office to another. Today I finished my business in 20 minutes. And it's the same people. But you are not from our commissioner, are you, because he wears a gray sort of uniform. It's a good thing that the army finally has taken hold of our administration. There is a different order in the office. And the petitioner saves time."

This opinion is likewise shared by other citizens who have come to the city office in Sochaczew. The dominant conviction in their statements is that things are getting better. Since when is that? Since the time that the local city operational group began to function, that is.

The Rigors Binding All

Into the makeup of the military crew came officers and specialists from the various services. Their task was to assist the administrative authorities in the solution of the problems troubling the people of Sochaczew. When martial law was declared in our country, Lt Col Adam Kaminski, who led the group, was appointed commissioner-plenipotentiary of the National Defense Committee [KOK] under the Sochaczew manager.

The military began implementing the new tasks by adjusting the life of the city and its inhabitants to the unusual circumstances and the numerous rigors resulting from the decisions of the Council of State decree and from the binding orders of state authorities.

The most important matter was to maintain public law and order and to prevent disruptions in the operation of local factories. The commissioner, the party aktiv and the administrative authorities were somewhat apprehensive of the acceptance of the news of martial law by the work force of the "Chemitex" Chemical Textile Plants. As it developed, their fears were unfounded. During talks with employees from this enterprise--the majority of whom are women--the directorate, military representatives and the party aktiv explained all the circumstances that led to this dramatic decision, changing the routine of the life of Polish society. The work force treated the requirements of the new situation with full comprehension and seriousness. Since the first day they have been implementing production tasks. The situation is similar in the other factories and enterprises in Sochaczew.

During this difficult period of martial law, however, not all city residents have become fully aware of the need to subordinate themselves to its strictures. Hence, law and order officials have held several persons who had been going about the city with no justification whatsoever after curfew. The commissioner ruled that they should be immediately investigated by the body of citizens having jurisdiction over minor offenses.

This body ruled that citizen Leszek Flisiak be fined for violating the provisions of article 50, law 3 of the Council of State decree dated December 1981. Likewise citizens Czczesniak, Trafalski and Sitarek await a severe penalty for their thoughtlessness. They were apprehended by the MO [Citizens' Militia] after the 22nd hour.

Except for those cases that, in the opinion of Cyprian Kasprzycki, city manager, are exceptional, the people of Sochaczew have submitted to the compulsory law. The exceptions relate to the activity of the military specialists who supervise the particular administrative and economic elements with understanding and sympathy.

Meeting the Market's Needs

The subordinates of Lt Col Kaminski have their hands full. The guiding principle of their work is the primary goal of the citizens' welfare. During their rare free moments, their thoughts return to their service comrades at the unit. They would

like to be together with them again. But they realize that they have been entrusted with equally responsible duties, to streamline the operation of the local administrative elements and to direct their attention to those matters which are part of the citizen's everyday existence. At the same time they have special duties to clear the foreground for the introduction of national economic reform so greatly awaited by society, under new conditions.

But this is a problem to be solved. For the time being, the lieutenant colonel together with the city authorities is directing his attention toward meeting the market's needs.

"On Monday, the shock of the martial law declaration created considerable pressure on the municipal market on the part of residents," explains manager Kasprzycki. "We noted the phenomenon of the excessive repurchase of basic food articles, especially bread. In order to resolve this problem, the commissioner and I together decided to restrict the amount of goods that a single individual could purchase. Thanks to this, there will be no shortage of bread, milk and potatoes for Sochaczew residents."

These restrictions guarantee that the basic needs of all citizens of Sochaczew will be met. An analysis of local potential conducted by the authorities has enabled the sale of an amount of goods to each customer exceeding the national norm. This is true for bread, the allottment of which per customer is 2 kg. Despite these steps, 2 "Spolem" bakeries and 10 private bakeries are producing approximately 8 to 10 tons of bread more during a 24-hour period. In order to meet the increased demand, the commissioner ruled that bakeries drop the production of small baked goods and direct all of their efforts toward bread production.

Milk has also been restricted. A customer may purchase 2 liters of milk at one time. He may also purchase 5 kg of potatoes. Salt and flour products are also subject to restricted sale.

City authorities are likewise carrying out a successful policy of distributing liquid fuels, of course, within a limited scope. Those persons and factories involved in food production receive the indispensable amount. On the first day of martial law there was confusion in the operation of units of socialized transport that received their fuel supply from CPN [Petroleum Products Center] stations. Through a ruling of the commissioner, vehicles of the municipal economy were directed on the very next day to fill up at the Economic Plant of the Voivodship Union of Agricultural Cooperatives, which has its own station for fuel distribution.

As a result of these and other tasks undertaken by the city manager and inspired by Lt Col Kaminski, since Wednesday, 16 December, the domestic market in Sochaczew has been stabilized. Vis-a-vis the demands of working inhabitants of the city, an order was also introduced providing for the sale of industrial articles of everyday use after 5 o'clock.

In the opinion of the KOK [National Defense Committee] plenipotentiary and the aktiv of the municipal authorities, the food situation in Sochzczew is improving. Of course, there may be shortages of meat and meat products. The concern of the authorities is to furnish enough goods, particularly during the preholiday purchasing period. Undoubtedly, the planned deliveries of fish will be a great shot in the arm. Over 28 tons of fresh fish and 12 tons of fish products will reach the holiday tables of inhabitants.

Concern for Residents

Another subject, just as important to residents as food, is the heating of their homes. Winter is already here, and it is not a mild one. Each day of the cold and snow confirms the fact that the authorities have succeeded in suitably preparing the city for the winter weather. Citizens have enough fuel, nor is there a shortage of boilers. The efficiency of municipal transportation likewise gets a good evaluation. In this field, however, the economic apparatus must do a good deal more work to collect the indispensable amounts of spare parts for buses.

According to military appraisals, since the first day of martial law there has been a marked increase in social discipline and in discipline among employees of the administration and the socialized economy. Explanatory discussions are conducted with those finding it difficult to adapt to the new and very strict living conditions. If this is not effective, service sanctions are applied. Andrzej Flisikowksi, head of the Office of Telecommunications, is one person who became convinced of this. For a lack of employee discipline and non-performance of his duties, the city manager recommended that this citizen be dismissed from his position.

"I was somewhat fearful of working during this special period," says the manager of Sochaczev. "It is known that the army is governed by specific laws. But cooperation with Lt Col Kaminski has taught me much and has helped me to look more realistically at the possibilities for resolving the citizens' various problems. The soldiers are directly steeped in the problems of the city and they react to every irregularity. Their presence consoles everyone. Not only do they supervise and control, but where a need exists, they help. The city population will come to value this help. It makes it easier to adapt to the new circumstances and to the really difficult conditions of everyday existence."

This opinion is shared likewise by the inhabitants of Sochaczev, especially the old living alone. Aleksandra Raczkowska, Barbara Chojnacka, Zofia Zagajewska and many others who are not fully able, direct words of warm thanks toward those in uniform. The soldiers' help, expressed in such ways as supplying and splitting firewood, means that these people will survive the coming months without fear for their health, without dread of the onslaught of cold.

8536
CSO: 2600/190

ACTIVITIES OF MILITARY INSTITUTE OF CHEMISTRY, RADIOMETRY REPORTED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish 15 Nov 81 pp 5, 6

[Article by Jaroslaw Malyszko: "The Army and Society"]

[Text] The Military Institute of Chemistry and Radiometry [WIChiR]--that is the name that one of the scientific-research centers of the military technology section has had for 8 years, was established in 1954. Its basic task is to improve methods of safeguarding the military and the civilian population against the effects of the use of nuclear weapons and highly toxic agents.

How the institute is fulfilling this task is best shown by the research methods and technology developed here and the equipment that is put into production. It is difficult to name all of the past achievements, but the most important certainly include: a small-size gas mask; individual protective clothing; filtering devices for shelters and mechanical vehicles; decontamination kits; devices for decontaminating heavy equipment; devices for detecting gamma radiation and chemical contamination; a chemical-radiometric automotive laboratory; and personal dosimeter kits.

In most cases, obtaining equipment of the desired parameters (e.g., protective clothing) does not mean that the research has ended. The rate of world technical progress in the field of means of mass destruction is, unfortunately, tremendous. This means constant adaptation of available equipment, on the one hand, to the needs resulting from the development of nuclear and chemical energy itself and from the anticipated forms of its use, and, on the other hand, to the obtainment of qualitatively new results and the increase in reliability of equipment due to replacement of materials with constantly better materials.

WIChiR has the suitable technical facilities to conduct this work and makes a considerable part of its own modern laboratory equipment. One of the most important of the Institute's facilities is a laboratory containing powerful radioactive sources. It is, of course, in a bunker which complies with all world safety standards. This is a source of very high yield gamma radiation and also a source of so-called Cf-252, which imitates radiation emitted in a classic nuclear explosion. The controls, located in an outside room, permit remote operation of radiation sources, observation, by television cameras, of measurement apparatus which is located outside the laboratory, and permits samples of materials to be fed through a pneumatic system close to the radiation sources. Thus it is possible to examine the effects of radiation

of a hypothetical explosion and nuclear radiation on different kinds of substances and to select those that best fulfill their assignment as materials for construction of equipment, protective clothing, air and water filters, etc. The laboratory also makes it possible to inspect and calibrate different types of measuring devices.

But modern research equipment and professional literature (the Institute has a rich scientific library) is not everything. Results of work in this field are determined by people--their reserve of knowledge, qualifications, skills in solving complex, qualitatively new theoretical and practical problems. And it is precisely such a cadre that WIChiR has. The highly qualified workers of the Institute are also valued members of scientific councils of the Polish Academy of Sciences (PAN), branch institutes, NOT [Chief Technical Organization] specialists, and experts and consultants of design offices.

Because it is inconceivable that such a specialist center would operate in isolation from other scientific-research centers, military and civilian. This cooperation is very broad, not only with WAT [Military Technical Academy] and IBJ [Institute of Nuclear Research] in Swierk, but also such specialist centers as, e.g. PAN Center for Molecular and Macromolecular Research, the Institute of Polymers at Lodz Polytechnic, the Institute of Chemistry at UCMS (Marie Curie-Sklodowska University) in Lublin, and PAN Institute of Physical Chemistry in Warsaw. What is important here is the flow to WIChiR of research results from other centers and the transmittal of the Institute's achievements for use in the national economy.

The universal results of this cooperation, thanks to the high professional level of the Institute's workers, are seen and appreciated not only in the military community. WIChiR owns several patents and utility models, abroad also. In 1978, a group composed of: Col (docent, doctor, engineer) Zdzislaw Filipowicz, Col (doctor, engineer) Mieczyslaw Saciuk, Lt Col (master's degree) Adam Saratowicz, and engineer Jan Sehen, received the State Prize (second grade), for participating in the preparation of new means of protection of respiratory tracts. Again and again Institute workers have received prizes and awards from the Polish Academy of Sciences, the Minister of National Defense, the Minister of Science, Higher Education and Technology, and many others. Their subject matter attests to the fact that the Institute effectively serves not just defense but the national economy also.

This started shortly after the war. Although none of the combatants decided in favor of the use of chemical weapons, they were produced in large quantities. Hitler's armies left considerable amounts of them on our soil. They had to be neutralizes, and very often neither the chemical composition or the method of neutralization were known. It was already then that in the work of the Institute a convergence of problems of defense against the mass contamination and problems of environmental protection became more and more clear. WIChiR "owes" the first of these specialties that are useful to the national economy to the occupiers. Large amounts of toxic substances formed during a galvanic treatment process and left by the Germans in Starachowice had to be neutralized. Because these types of compounds form rather commonly in industry, the Institute specialized in this field. A special installation for neutralizing post-galvanic substances was established on the experimental range. Several hundred tons of these substances have already been disposed of.

Col (doctor habilitatus) Zbigniew Makles, working at WICHiR since it was established, uses a rough draft in describing his work in behalf of the national economy, for it is difficult from memory to recite the scores of operations conducted. Frequently cylinders containing toxic gases and outdated chemical were destroyed. Pesticides used to test dusting equipment were disposed of. The Institute also produced pesticide absorption filters for agricultural aircraft. Filtering materials were used in many fields, in the construction of miners' masks and in other sectors of industry and agriculture, in motorization (including for the Fiat 125p automobile), and in the pharmaceutical industry (a filter for cleaning the air of bacteria and viruses).

Cooperation in the elimination of the eruption of hydrogen sulfide from geological bore-holes and in the elimination of the effects of a railroad train catastrophe, where chemical substances were present, are examples how the workforces' experience and construction equipment were used in identifying and evaluating the degree of contamination.

WIChiR's contribution to the development of the national economy can be measured by the value of the work put into conducting rescue operations and destroying toxic substances (each of them cost at least several million zlotys). But it is difficult to determine and measure in zlotys the value of a person's surroundings that are protected against contamination and the health of thousands of industrial workers and farmers that was preserved due to the skill and commitment of the scientists in this center. It should also be remembered that this does not take place at the expense of the basic tasks of the Institute--the best possible preparation of our army and society for the worst--protection against weapons of mass destruction.

9295
CSO: 2600/220

UTILIZATION OF SOLDIERS ON EXTENDED DUTY DESCRIBED

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ POLSKI in Polish No 48, 29 Nov 81 p 10

[Interview with Col (academy graduate) Marian Roznowski on the work of soldiers in the third year of basic military service, by Bogdan Bartnikowski of [ZOLNIERZ POLSKI] (ZP): "Indispensable Assistance"]

[Text] "ZP": The news about extending the military service of part of the land force soldiers who were to go into the reserve in October has aroused great societal interest. As is well known, this is in connection to get through the hard winter ahead of us. Can we find out in what way these soldiers are and will be engaged?

MR: The Army's assistance in many sectors of our economy is a commonly known matter, among others in coping with natural disasters. But now there exists the need of further increasing it, since our situation, as Gen Jaruzelski defined it, can in a certain sense be compared to a state of natural disaster. But as for the details, 40 percent of the number of soldiers deferred for a third year remain centrally administered, in accordance with the proposals of various economic type ministries. The rest can be utilized for various help tasks in the State and socialized economy on the basis of decision of the military district commanders.

"ZP": As I was on my way to this interview, I saw a group of workers on the tram--their age and standard workclothes indicated that they were soldiers.

MR: Our Territorial Defense as well as the railroad-road units are doing a great deal for the benefit of communications and construction. The construction of roads, tracks, and bridges are specialties in which soldiers have repeatedly shown high professional and organizational qualifications.

"ZP": Autumn is the time of potato digging.

MR: Yes, and in connection with this soldiers could be seen in the fields helping the farmers. Toward the end of October more than 2,500 of them were working. Military assistance to farmers lasted until the middle of November. Obviously, we will not refuse our assistance later for justifiable events either, so as not to allow the ruin of even a small part of this year's crops.

"ZP": In what sectors of industry are the soldiers on extended duty working?

MR: For example: We have detailed altogether 400 soldiers to the brown coal mines in Belchatow, Turow, and Konin.

"ZP": Is it only a question of physical effort? Has technical materiel also been supplied?

MR: At the beginning the army supplied only manpower in accordance with the needs of the ministry. Beginning 15 December our technical materiel will also be added to work. Cooperative agreement between the army and the Ministry of Mining Industry is anticipated. I would like to add that soldiers in the third year of service are also already working in powerplants, including in Adamow, Patnow, and Turow. Each of them has to spend 36 working days there.

"ZP": The mining of coal and the production of energy are very important sectors of the economy and even more depends on them this year than in previous years. But the military assistance to industrial plants is not limited to only them.

MR: Of course not. The military is helping personnel at chemical plants producing fertilizer, for which farmers have a great demand. Specifically: the Torun "Polchem" has 20 soldiers, the chemical plants "Police" has 150 soldiers, the plants in Lubon near Poznan has 60 soldiers and the plant in Rudniki near Czestochowa has 85 soldiers. And there are still Tarnowskie Gory, Cracow, Wroclaw....

One can also mention several communications enterprises where many soldiers of extended service were engaged in the construction of buildings: Zgierz with 15 soldiers, Bytom with 20 soldiers, Sulecin with 15, Wroclaw with 40 and Katowice with 50.

The ministries, thanks to our assistance, have broadened the scope of the work, increased plans, and accelerated the commissioning of new buildings.

"ZP": One more question. The service of second-year soldiers has been extended to the end of the year. This is a short period. Will all of them find employment during this time?

MR: As to that there are no doubts at all. The needs are enormous. Industry has submitted very many bids to us. In addition we are considering the matter of the wide participation of soldiers in building snow barriers along communication routes. We are managing the military forces very carefully, allocating them only where their presence can be put to good use.

9541
CSO: 2600/242

DRAFT DOCUMENT ON EMPLOYMENT OF GRADUATES DISCUSSED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 28 Dec 81 p 4

[Article by I. Solinska: "Work for School Graduates. Principal Criterion--Usefulness"]

> [Text] Work after the completion of one's studies is as important for young people as being admitted to an school studies. It crowns the student's several years of work; it begins a period when the assets he acquired during the time he spent at a school, along with some interest, can be returned to society. Proper and rational employment, therefore, is not only a particular matter of an individual.

Until now the flow of young employees with a higher education to industry and other areas of public life has been regulated by the specific law of 1964. A draft document is ready, however, that contains changes in the system of employment of academic graduates. It would ensure better utilization of our common capital--the highest possible qualifications--in compliance with the projected aims of economic reform, among other things, through the integration of policy in matters of employment with the actual needs of the country.

Cost Effectiveness

In order to grasp the essence of the new proposals let us recall the principal regulations which are in force now. So, at present graduates of some university departments are not covered by the provisions of the existing law. They are, therefore, excluded from the obligation to take up employment, but a substantial majority has an obligation of a three years employment in a socialized work place, or repays partial cost of studies. At the same time work places are required to submit offers of employment, the number of which is regulated by the central plan of graduates assignments, regardless of their actual requirements.

The law has served its purpose in the period of time when the graduates of higher schools were employed by enterprises and institutions on the spot. In the meantime the number of graduates of university departments covered by the law rose since 1964 three-fold, and Poland has joined a list of countries with high ratio of employment of individuals with higher education. Lately, though, restrictive tendencies arose concerning the need for employees with higher education, since state enterprises will be guided by the principle of internal cost effectiveness in defining the level and structure of their employment.

Possible introduction of changes does not mean "letting loose" of the policy of employment of young, highly qualified people. Those who complete their studies should work according to their specialized education, and their appointments should correspond to their qualifications, with a provision that in case of shortage of such positions they would be offered production or service jobs of the kind which require more sophisticated work. This would make it possible for the graduates to forego an initial training period.

Individuals with master's degrees will not be divided between those covered and not covered by the planned employment law. More rational utilization of the assets of higher education should be ensured by a differently built yearly graduates assignment plan composed of two parts: part one would entail employment problems in the budget units, such as public health, administration, education and other public services; part two would cover production plants which regulate their employment according to their needs.

Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs would keep its influence on the employment of graduates in both above-mentioned areas--explains (master's degree holder) Stanislaw Bernat, chief ministry expert. The volume and structure of employment in the budget units will be formed by appropriate defining of the number of positions (it would be an annex to the National Socio-Economic Plan). Production plants would use, e.g., economic incentives: an additional position could be created for a graduate, the salary for which would bepaid from the Professional Activation Fund. But it would not last longer than a year....

Diplomas for the Provincial Areas

Having gained positive experience during this period of trial a young man would become a member of the work force. It would not be a kind of "graduate storage"--in any case usefulness and profitability should be the decisive factors in the considerations of employment.

Personnel analyses made a couple of years ago have revealed considerable disproportions between specific regions in the degree of their saturation by the employees with higher education. Particularly large differences, which could not be evened out, are noticeable between big cities and "old" voivodships, on one side, and areas which are remote from the centers of culture, on the other side. According to the above mentioned proposal also here economic incentives can be utilized: with the participation of the governors every year a list of places suffering from an inadequate number of employees with higher education would be prepared. Those graduates who would choose to move to such places would find many privileges. Unredeemable loan for setting up one's residence, assistance in building a home, periodic allowances for a rented apartment--such are some of the incentives.

Substantial assistance can be expected by graduates who intend to work on a farm, those who inherit farms, as well as those who purchase or lease farms for a longer period of time--they are eligible for credits with favorable payment terms. Similar benefits in setting up an independent shop would be awaiting those young people who would start with their own crafts or service businesses.

The proposal anticipates retaining among the regulations of the future document governing the employment of academic graduates such tested forms of contacts between the student and his future employer, such as institution-funded scholarships or preliminary agreements. It appears that also when the reforming of the economy begins, it would be probably expedient to retain such ties.

The Law Applies

In the current year 52,000 graduates of institutions of higher education were to be employed. Of this number, up to the first 10 days of December 38,000 were actually employed. Another 14,000 are those who did not fulfill their diploma requirements and those who left the country. A total of 8,000 openings were waiting for the remaining graduates.

In spite of the changed conditions of life during the period of martial law the employment of graduates has not stopped. The principles of the law of 1964 still apply, and they will be consistently implemented. The school plenipotentiaries will contact those graduates who did not take up employment, and they will direct them to appropriate work places. The proposed resolution, which was discussed above, can be submitted to the Council of Ministers after the condition of the country is stabilized. Rational utilization of the knowledge of young people in the effort of pulling the country out of the crisis is at present an order of the day.

9644
CSO: 2600/191

POLICE OFFICIAL DISCUSSES ECONOMIC CRIMES

Warsaw ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI in Polish 18 Nov 81 p 3

[Interview with Col (engineer) Tadeusz Stasiak, deputy director, Bureau for Combating Economic Crime KG MO [Main Headquarters of Citizens' Militia] by Capt Roman Lercher; "In the Interest of All Citizens"; date and place not specified]

[Text] [Question] Col Stasiak: In the difficult socioeconomic situation that our country has found itself for a long time, it would be surprising if the bureau that you, comrade colonel, represent, complained of having nothing to do.

[Answer] Indeed. I can immediately assure you that we have a great deal of work, which, in the context of the fatal state of the economy, cannot be a cause for satisfaction. The department for combating economic crime has taken active measures, on many planes, to reduce or eliminate the phenomena which disrupt the functioning of the national economy, and in particular, the domestic market. We are concerned mainly with ensuring public safety and order and with improving social discipline in the economic sphere.

[Question] I daresay that economic crime cannot be regarded as a phenomenon that is structurally uniform.

[Answer] No. Crimes resulting in relatively small losses, not exceeding 20,000 zlotys, definitely predominate. They constitute over 80 percent of all economic crimes and are dangerous only because there are so many of them. Although during the last 2 years we observed a declining trend--from over 75,500 in 1979 to slightly over 70,000 last year. More dangerous, despite the fact that there are fewer of them in the total number, are the crimes which cause considerable economic losses.

Speaking of the current year we should emphasize that three basic tendencies have appeared in the structure of economic crimes: a sharp increase in speculation, which took on particularly disrupting dimensions in August and September; an increase in the scale of uneconomical management and waste of public property; and a large--over 50 percent--drop in the number of foreign-exchange-smuggling crimes.

[Question] This last information is astounding.

[Answer] Perhaps only initially. In giving this type of crime more thought, it is easier to understand this basically normal tendency. It is caused by, among other

things, the unprofitability in the present situation of bringing in gold and in the reduction of sources of illegal flow of foreign currences into Poland. The interest in foreign currences of socialist countries is scant in view of the insignificant tourist exchange and the exceptionally strict customs controls in leaving the GDR, CSSR and USSR. Despite this, we continue to expose many notorious dealers in foreign currency, one of the recent examples being the case of a private manufacturer of shoes, who bought up, on the black market, hard currency equivalent in value to 10 million zlotys. Our activities are directed also at the scalpers who disrupt order in front of the PEWEX shops, dealing in hard currency.

[Question] In that case, let us talk about the much broader phenomena, those that disrupt the functioning of the market to a greater degree.

[Answer] Included in those, as I mentioned, is mainly speculation, and the struggle against it, which is the fundamental task of not just the police but all kinds of social forces, in the interest of the State and every citizen. In the struggle against speculation we have already obtained--and expect to obtain more--concrete assistance and support from the local military operational groups. Joint action has already greatly reduced the simple manifestations of this phenomenon, and has to a large degree eliminated speculation in the marketplaces and bazaars.

But the speculative market is the result of well-organized gangs. Here are some of the latest examples: a criminal group of workers in the Voivodship Rural Construction Cooperative in Siedlce indulged in speculative turnovers with construction materials-- they illegally "sold" about 26 million bricks. The KW MO [Voivodship Committee of Citizens' Militia] in Katowice is conducting preliminary procedures in a case of illegal turnover of alcohol, valued at about 2 million zlotys, purchased in PEWEX. The manager of the Intervoivodship Department of the Disabled Persons Trade Cooperative in Dynow, in the Przemysl voivodship, in September and October, sold, outside the rationing system, alcohol valued at over 700,000 zlotys. Workers at WPHW [voivodship domestic trade enterprise] in Zamosc, brought in 58 carpets worth 458,000 zlotys from the Carpet Factory in Tomaszow Mazowiecki which they then distributed outside the trade centers and sent the cash to a WPHW radio-television shop in Bilgoraj.

[Question] That list can surely go on much further. The more so since, of course, connected with pure speculation are crimes of bribery, crimes in the State administration.

[Answer] An analysis of penal cases shows that the number of procedures initiated on the venality of a public functionary--because professionally that is what crimes in the State administration based on bribery are called--last year amounted to 26.5 percent of all crimes of this type in the economy. Bribes in the State administration are accepted principally for: allocation of premises; issuance of permits for production, trade and service activities; allocation of building and recreation lots; allocation of farm machinery and construction materials; falsification of control figures in the nonsocialized sector; and assistance in getting back a previously suspended drivers license. The majority of these types of crimes are committed in the organs of administration at the basic level, particularly in gmina [rural parish] and town-gmina offices.

[Question] And the large majority of these are difficult to discover?

[Answer] Naturally, because both sides participating in the crime are interested in hushing it up as thoroughly as possible. Nevertheless, we are exposing more and more facts of bribery and corruption, and this is due, among other things, to the social climate of censuring and condemning these acts. During a 9-months' period this year the number of preliminary procedures initiated against public functionaries increased over 50 percent.

[Question] The accumulating economic difficulties create ever-new crime-breeding situations, they form the preconditions for an increasingly greater growth in economic crimes. Because of course today one can speculate literally in everything.

[Answer] True. But some goods are especially salable. Let us take, for example--ignoring, for the moment, food articles--gasoline, oils and automobile accessories. The demand for these goods is enormous, which increases the number of get-rich-quick artists. Here is only one of many examples: a department manager in the Petroleum Products Management Plant in Nowa Wioska Wielka in the Bydgoszcz voivodship, in conjunction with other persons, stole 10,000 liters of ethylene 94--the entire tank car--valued at 210,000 zlotys. The purpose of this criminal operation is clear.

[Question] An exceedingly important social task, which undoubtedly you are accomplishing, is combating uneconomical management and waste. In a crisis situation, destruction or waste of our common assets cannot go unpunished.

[Answer] Our activities in preventing and fighting crimes of uneconomical management are concentrated primarily on the following problems: protection of the food economy, counteracting the destruction of construction materials and equipment--in the investment projects on which work has been delayed for lack of means, prevention of waste of fuels and energy raw materials by controlling means of transport, and counteracting "deadhead" trips.

Examples speak best to the imagination, so here are some of the latest, drawn from the period of October 26th to November 1st of this year. In the Regional Reclamation Enterprise in Biala Podlaska, the proper agro-engineering dates and sowing conditions were not observed in sowing grass. The result was losses amounting to 1.2 million zlotys. At the fruits and vegetables procurement point in Lomazy, which is under WSO [voivodship fruit cooperative?] in Biala Podlaska, a ton of carrots spoiled. During construction of a fire-station in Dubow, in this same region, 21 tons of cement was allowed to spoil. During an inspection in the WSS [Voivodship Consumers Cooperative] "Spolem" in Nowy Sacz, 45 tons of wheat flour, imported at a cost of 190,000 zlotys, was found to be contaminated with wheat moths due to prolonged storage. In this same city, which suffers severely from a shortage of meat and sausages, 1,940 kilograms of Lithuanian and hussars' sausage was found spoiled in the Meat Plant because the proper type of fat was not used.

Figures on combating crime in the food economy compiled for a 9-months' period show that the highly dangerous state is continuing. During this period over 4,000 preliminary procedures were completed and it was shown that losses due to uneconomical management amounted to over 62 million zlotys. In comparison with the past year, this was an increase of 35.5 percent.

[Question] These are shocking and upsetting examples, especially where food items are concerned. The discovery of crimes and severe punishment of those guilty of negligence and indifference to their obligations bears no further discussion, but...

[Answer] ...precisely, but. In this difficult economic situation the order of the day is to improve the protection of public property against crime. And this is the task not only of the police and control organs but above all of the economic administration, party and union organizations, and all the honest citizens of our country.

9295
CSO: 2600/218

PLAN FOR 1982 APPROVED BY PEOPLE'S COUNCILS LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 99, 2 Dec 81 pp 1-3

/Decision No 4 of 24 November 1981 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in Territorial Form, for 1982/

/Text/ Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 15 of Law No 5/1975 on the Congress, Legislative Chamber and Conferences of the People's Councils, we approve and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Decision No 4 of 24 November 1981 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in Territorial Form, for 1982.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 2 December 1981.

Decision of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the Draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in Territorial Form, for 1982

The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils, discussing the draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, for 1982, finds that they are based on the program of the Romanian Communist Party, the objectives and tasks established by the 12th party congress, the decisions of the Second Congress of the People's Councils and the Second Congress of the Management Councils of the Socialist Agricultural Units, the Whole Peasantry and the Councils of the Working People in the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management, and the provisions of the plan for the 1981-1985 period.

During the discussions, the improvements made in the draft plans, as a result of the instructions given by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the

Romanian Communist Party and the chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, for using better the production capacities and modernizing the structure of production, sensibly managing all material and energy resources, raising the technical and qualitative level of the products, increasing the economic efficiency in all sectors, strengthening self-administration and worker self-management, providing for the territorial self-supplying of the population, steadily applying the new economic and financial mechanism and continually raising the population's standard of living, were noted in particular.

The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils judges that the provisions of the two draft plans for 1982 reflect the economic policy of the party and the state with regard to the continual development of the production forces in the country as a whole and in territorial form within a dynamic and balanced framework, being in keeping with the decisions of the 12th Congress of the Romanian Communist Party with regard to economic and social development in 1981-1985.

On the basis of Article 6 of Law No 5/1975 on the Congress, Legislative Chamber and Conferences of the People's Councils, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils decides:

Article 1. It approves the draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of the Socialist Republic of Romania, in territorial form, for 1982.

Article 2. It approves the draft of the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in territorial form, for 1982.

Article 3. The proposals made in the session of the Legislative Chamber on the occasion of discussing the draft plans will be forwarded to the Council of Ministers.

Article 4. With a view to the fulfillment and overfulfillment of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development and the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry, in territorial form, for 1982, the people's councils will take steps regarding:

a) The maximally efficient performance of all economic and social activity in each county, municipality, city and commune for the complete fulfillment of the plan targets by all units, regardless of their subordination, especially the targets regarding the physical output and the value of the net output, the reduction of material expenditures, the strict application of the provisions of the new economic and financial mechanism for the continual consolidation of self-administration and worker self-management in all economic, sociocultural and territorial-administrative units;

b) The intensive use of the production capacities, the scientific organization of the manufacturing processes, the intensification of the actions of automation and mechanization, the raising of the quality of the work of maintenance, inspection and repair of the equipment; the improvement of the activity of cooperation in production between enterprises and counties; the providing and training of the work force;

c) The raising of the technical and qualitative level of the products, the intensification of the activity of typification and standardization of them in accordance with the approved programs; the matter of assimilating into production new materials and equipment with better characteristics and low energy consumptions;

d) The better utilization of the resources of energy and raw materials through the improvement of the manufacturing technologies, the continual reduction of the specific consumtpions, the achievement of a strict policy of economy;

e) The intensification of the actions for the recovery and reuse of the materials resulting from the processes of production and consumption; the better organization of the activity of recovering these resources from the socialist units and the population; the expansion of the activity of reconditioning used subassemblies and spare parts;

f) The development of small-scale industry, especially the production of consumer goods, construction materials, services for the population, the reconditioning of parts and subassemblies, the exportation of handicrafts, and cooperation with large-scale industry; the expansion of the utilization of local resources of raw materials and of byproducts and recoverable materials in industry and agriculture;

g) The sensible management of land resources through the complete utilization of the agricultural areas in the socialist units and of those possessed by the population, the full use of the areas equipped for irrigation at the planned yields; the application of rational crop rotations in the range of each agroindustrial council;

h) The raising of the agricultural output through the performance of all work at the proper time and under conditions of high quality, the application of agronomic practices varying according to production zones in relation to each crop, the providing of high-quality seeds and planting stock; the better utilization of the fleet of tractors and agricultural machines, the efficient administration of chemical and natural fertilizers, the rational use of chemical means of pest control;

i) The intensification of the action of modernizing the fruitgrowing and vinegroving plantations, the creation of new plantations in an intensive system, the matter of increasing to a greater extent the production of vegetables, potatoes and fruit for meeting in a better way the consumption needs of the population and the requirements of industry;

j) The increasing of the stock populations and the raising of the average outputs of animal products through the improvement of the selection and reproduction of the breeds, the full use of the capacity of the stockraising complexes, the providing of fodder resources through the raising of the average yields per hectare, the performance of the work of improvement of natural meadows and grasslands, the development of double forage crops, the use of roughage and byproducts and the raising of their food value;

k) The intensification of the research and the matter of promptly applying to production the results of the research for the achievement of high-yield seeds and planting stock adapted to the soil and climatic conditions in each zone;

l) The complete implementation of the programs regarding self-management and the territorial supplying of agricultural and food products to the population, with a view to meeting the consumption needs of the population in each locality and county; the matter of achieving at the level stipulated in the plan the deliveries of agricultural products to the central supply; the increasing of the contribution of the population's farms to fulfilling these tasks;

m) The raising of the efficiency of the economic activity in all agricultural units through the reduction of material expenditures, the raising of labor productivity, the reduction of the consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy;

n) The mobilization of the working people in the villages for the performance of the agricultural and land-improvement work at the proper time and with good quality, the shortening of the harvest periods; the storage and preservation of agricultural products without losses, the strengthening of the discipline and responsibility in each agricultural unit for fulfilling the plan targets;

o) The performance of hydrotechnical work under the conditions of rationally utilizing the water in the hydrographic basins, in correlation with territorial systematization; the application of the measures regarding environmental protection, the matter of operating at the approved parameters the installations for purification of used water;

p) The utilization of the fleet of motor vehicles and trailers at fully capacity, the mechanization of the loading and unloading operations, the economization of liquid fuel and energy;

r) The putting of the investment facilities into operation on the planned dates, for which purpose action will be taken regarding the delivery of the technological equipment in accordance with the timetables, the steady performance of the activity on the building sites, the expansion of the mechanization and industrialization of building-assembly work, the efficient use of technical equipment, the adoption of technological and construction solutions that would ensure the matter of staying within the quotas of allocated materials and the reduction of the consumptions of metal, cement, energy and fuel; the use of local materials to a greater extent;

s) The intensification of the activity of scientific research and of introduction of technical progress, pursuing the development of the base of raw materials and fuels, the utilization of new sources of energy, the expansion of advanced technologies, the achievement of new products with low consumptions of fuel and raw materials, the expansion of the mechanization and automation of production, the speedup of the application of the research to production and the closer connection of it with education and production;

t) The achievement of the commodity supply earmarked for exportation in the assortment structure and the quality requested by foreign customers, the continual raising of the valuta contribution of the products that are furnished for exportation, the maximally efficient utilization of the valuta funds allocated by means of the plan;

ţ) The implementation of the provisions of the programs for growth in labor productivity through the improvement of the organization of production and labor, the expansion of mechanization and automation, the improvement of the work rates, the reduction of the auxiliary and nonproductive personnel, the generalization of the overall contract system in all fields of activity, the strengthening of order and discipline at the workplace, the raising of the degree of qualification and polyqualification of the worker personnel.

Article 5. With a view to the fulfillment of the tasks that devolve upon the directly subordinate units, the people's councils will provide for:

a) The maximally efficient use of the investment funds allocated by means of the plan for the construction of housing, the expansion of the water-distribution and sewer system, the development of the technical-material base of the building-assembly organizations and of small-scale industry, the improvement of the road network for education, culture and health care;

b) The exercise of strict control over the application of the systematization plans in approving and carrying out the investments with a view to sensibly using the land, the avoidance of the demolition of existing structures and of the removal of land from the agricultural or forest circuit;

c) The use of a wider range of model designs, the application of new construction solutions in the design of dwellings and sociocultural buildings, the improvement of the thermal insulation on the outer walls of the buildings; the expansion of the matter of using in construction the new typified materials, the thermoinsulating materials achieved through the utilization of local resources, and building stone, volcanic tuff and other local materials;

d) The better maintenance and the modernization of the existing state housing supply;

e) The improvement of the activity of contracting for privately owned dwellings with the state's help in loans and execution and the stimulation of the construction of dwellings in the population's own charge with help in loans and materials;

f) The development, diversification and improvement in the quality of the services for the population, especially in repairs and maintenance of dwellings, sanitary-engineering installations, chemical laundries and cleaners, various household services; the improvement of the distribution of the service-performing units over the territory;

g) The development of their own sources of power from biogas, wind and solar energy, the putting of new micro hydroelectric power stations into operation with a view to expanding the utilization of these new sources on a local level;

h) The matter of mobilizing to a greater extent the population and the worker personnel in enterprises and institutions to carry out housing and sociocultural construction, municipal management work and the improvement of the road network.

Article 6. With a view to continually improving the supplying of the population, the people's councils will provide for the sensible distribution of the commodity supply according to localities, giving priority to the worker centers and cities, the pursuit of the fulfillment of the tasks for steadily furnishing the commodity supply in the assortments and qualities requested by the population, the promotion of modern forms of serving the population.

Article 7. The people's councils will act steadily to fulfill the tasks that devolve upon them with regard to economic and social development in territorial form, good management and beautification of the cities and communes, the performance of work of public interest, the raising of the well-being of the population in all localities of the country to a higher level.

Legislative Chamber
of the People's Councils

Chairman,
Aron Pavel

Council of Ministers
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Prime Minister,
Ilie Verdet

Bucharest, 24 November 1981.
No 4.

12105
CSO: 2700/139

LOCAL BUDGETS FOR 1982 APPROVED BY LEGISLATIVE CHAMBER

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 99, 2 Dec 81 pp 4-5

/Decision No 5 of 24 November 1981 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Drafts of the Local Budgets for 1982/

/Text/ Socialist Republic of Romania

On the basis of Article 13 of Law No 5/1975 on the Congress, Legislative Chamber and Conferences of the People's Councils, we approve and order to be published in BULETINUL OFICIAL AL REPUBLICII SOCIALISTE ROMANIA Decision No 5 of 24 November 1981 of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils on the Approval of the Drafts of the Local Budgets for 1982.

Nicolae Ceausescu,
chairman
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Bucharest, 2 December 1981.

Decision of the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils
on the Approval of the Drafts of the Local Budgets for 1982

The Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils, meeting in the session of 24 November 1981 and discussing the drafts of the local budgets for 1982, finds that they are based on the program of the Romanian Communist Party and the tasks established by the 12th party congress, the decisions of the National Council of Working People, the National Council for Agriculture, the Food Industry, Silviculture and Water Management and the National Council of the Socialist Democracy and Unity Front and the Socialist Democracy and Unity Organization, and the provisions of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of Romania and the Plan for Development of Agriculture and the Food Industry for 1982.

The drafts of the local budgets reflect the decisive contribution of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and the chairman of the Socialist Republic of Romania, with regard to more markedly increasing the economic efficiency, strengthening worker self-management and economic and financial self-administration, increasing the degree of self-financing of the territorial-administrative units, strengthening the order and discipline in the utilization of assets, and steadily applying the new economic and financial mechanism.

The drafts of the local budgets were drawn up on the basis of the drafts of the income and expense budgets prepared by the people's councils, the economic units and the local state institutions and in direct correlation with the indicators furnished for each county by means of the draft of the Sole National Plan for Economic and Social Development of Romania, in territorial form, for 1982, providing the resources for financing the objectives and tasks in the economic and sociocultural fields and other fields that enter into the jurisdiction of the people's councils.

On the basis of the provisions of articles 6 and 9 of Law No 5/1975 on the Congress, Legislative Chamber and Conferences of the People's Councils and of Article 199 of Law No 9/1972 on Finances, the Legislative Chamber of the People's Councils decides:

Article 1. It approves the drafts of the budgets of the counties and that of the municipality of Bucharest for 1982, in the amount of 49,823.0 million lei.

The proposals made in the session of the Legislative Chamber on the occasion of discussing the drafts of the local budgets for 1982 will be forwarded to the Council of Ministers.

Article 2. The executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest will allot the indicators approved by means of the local budgets, after their adoption in the sessions of the respective people's councils, according to component budgets, state institutions and enterprises.

Article 3. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will take steps so that the financial bodies, the other specialized local bodies and their own apparatus, the working people's councils and the other collective leadership bodies in the economic units and the state institutions provide for the complete fulfillment of the provisions in the local budgets and in the income and expense budgets for 1982 of the units through:

a) The complete fulfillment of the tasks of production, sales and services and the matter of staying within the planned level of material and total expenditures, with the aim being to reduce the consumptions of raw materials, supplies, fuel and energy, the indirect expenses and the administrative and management expenses and to make all units, products and economic activities profitable;

b) The achievement of the planned profits and the other approved resources in each unit, the matter of making at the level of the provisions and on the legal dates the payments to the budget from profits and other payments, for the restoration of the funds received from society, the formation and utilization of their own funds under the conditions of the law;

c) The matter of staying within the approved stock quotas and circulating-fund quotas, the elimination and prevention of tieups of funds, the speedup of the rate of turnover of the circulating funds;

d) The achievement of the planned investment facilities and the putting of them into operation on schedule, the intensification of the action of contracting with the population for the construction of privately owned dwellings and of selling the dwellings in the state housing supply at the level of the plan provisions, the reduction of the cost of the investment work, the utilization of the funds for financing the investments under the conditions provided by law;

e) the matter of utilizing with a thrifty spirit the material and financial resources provided for the economic, sociocultural and administrative actions financed from the local budgets;

f) The strict exercise of financial control, especially preventive financial control, with a view to the ensuring of the sensible management of the material and monetary assets and the respecting of the financial discipline and of the laws in the utilization of the assets.

Article 4. The executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will act to fulfill the plan indicators regarding the incomes from which sums are allotted for the local budgets on the territory of the respective territorial-administrative units. The allocation of the sums allotted for balancing the local budgets will be done within the approved limits and in relation to the financing needs, in accordance with the fulfillment of the plan for their own incomes and for making the expenditures for each component budget.

Article 5. To gradually reduce the subsidies and allocations from the incomes of the national budget and to achieve the self-financing of all territorial-administrative units, the executive committees and bureaus of the people's councils will act to develop and expand the activity of the units in the local economy, especially small-scale industry and services, to correctly establish and completely collect from the population and the cooperative units the sums owed to the budget, to continually reduce expenditures, to involve the population to a greater extent in the performance of work of public interest and of management of the localities.

The executive committees of the county people's councils and that of the municipality of Bucharest will take steps so that, gradually, all territorial-administrative units may be self-financed. To this end, they will draw up timetables according to years, whose fulfillment will be followed by the Ministry of Finance and the Committee for Problems of the People's Councils, together with the State Planning Committee.

Legislative Chamber
of the People's Councils

Chairman,
Aron Pavel

Council of Ministers
of the Socialist Republic of Romania

Prime Minister,
Ilie Verdet

Bucharest, 24 November 1981.
No 5.

12105
CSO: 2700/139

'DISTORTION OF REALITIES' BY HEADS OF ECONOMIC UNITS

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Dec 81 pp 34-36

[Unsigned article: "A Correct, Responsible Attitude and Not a Distortion of Reality"]

[Text] In their charter, those cadre charged with leadership functions in the economic hierarchy are called upon to offer under all circumstances models of political and professional awareness, of behavior and of self-sacrifce and passion in their work. Any deviation from these commandments has grave repercussions upon the atmosphere at work and the collective, and, for precisely this reason, it must receive a serious rebuff. Honesty, correctness and high responsibility in the fulfillment of their duties in production and in political and social affairs are obligations of the first order for all communists. This is even more so for a party or state activist who has increased responsibilities at work and in society with regards to all the tasks that are entrusted to him and an exemplary behavior in any situation, with the failure to consider these requirements having much more serious consequences because of the broad area in which the effects of his acts are felt. As a result, it is understood that egotistic interests, abuses and dishonest acts not only alter the moral image of the cadre and damage their prestige and authority, but also introduce into the heart of the collective an unhealthy atmosphere that is improper for a fruitful, mobilizing activity.

Firmness Against Disinformation

By attempting to hide reality, as well as their inappropriate activities, some leaders of economic units and other state activists resort to practices that have nothing in common with the principles of socialist ethics, such as falsifying statistical data and reports and providing disinformation to higher organs regarding the exact status of achieving the plan. Instead of concentrating their full attention on ensuring the solution of problems raised in production and of mobilizing all forces to firmly eliminate the shortcomings that appear and to overcome certain difficulties, these people have selected the path of falsehoods, distortions and hiding the truth.

Sometimes, even party activists who, through the positions that they hold, are called upon to ensure party control and permanent guidance and to introduce outstanding order and discipline patronize and even directly take part in such machinations.

At the Bucharest Sugar Products Enterprise, for example, Ana Sfichi, a technologist at the "Fraga" unit, put together false documents to cover up for certain missing quantities of butter and citric acid worth 120,000 lei.

The review that was carried out after the discovery of this fact arrived at the conclusion that, because of a climate of technological indiscipline and incorrectness, other reprovable acts were also committed. Thus, 45 tons of sugar worth 411,000 lei purely and simply disappeared from the raw materials warehouse at the "Corso" unit, and two workers removed goods totalling 50,000 lei from the finished products warehouse, goods which they sold through certain pastry shops in the capital and in the counties. Additionally, the review uncovered 240 kg of nuts and 11 kg of coffee, as well as significant amounts of butter, coffee and chocolate that were "prepared" for removal and sale.

Dominated by a tendency to seek her fortunes, Floarea Grigore, the former secretary of the party committee, did not have the time to organize and carry out a review of the manner in which the enterprise's goods were administered and handled. In fact, Ana Sfichi, the former deputy secretary of the party committee, carried out all the falsifications with an understanding from the former party committee secretary.

On the merry-go-round of disinformation and dishonesty, sometimes not just certain cadre are involved, but nearly the entire leadership collective, which is even more serious since it denotes the fact that the leadership of a unit deliberately set off on a totally incorrect path.

Thus, the director, chief engineer and certain service or compartment chiefs at the Bucharest Enterprise of Threads and Fabrics Made From Glass Fibers, seeing that production would not be fully achieved, decided together to report an overfulfillment of 18 tons of glass fibers, clearly with the purpose that the higher authorities would not find out the true situation.

Certainly, the measures that were adopted were in agreement with the seriousness of the crimes committed: removal of the director from his job, punishment of the chief engineer and some service chiefs. What is intriguing, however, is the clarity with which the party committee saw these illegalities.

At other times, although such extremely damaging practices are known, practices that are condemned most vehemently by the party leadership, firm and energetic measures are not taken and there is no intervention in order to radically eliminate the causes that generate these practices and to prevent the reappearance of such tendencies. To tolerate such phenomena, which have nothing in common with socialist ethics, actually means directly encouraging them. For example, there is the case that occurred at the Craiova Agricultural Tractor and Machinery Enterprise. Several years ago, the leadership cadre resorted to the mystification of reality, and were severely punished. But, instead of drawing the maximum conclusions from this situation, by creating a common front to bring about a general mobilization for the purpose of ensuring the complete fulfillment of the plan, the current director, the chief engineer and several service chiefs preferred to once again resort to fictitious reports, misleading higher authorities.

In referring to the manner in which the party organs and organizations fulfill their role in the organization of the management of economic-social activities, in his speech at the Joint Plenary Session of the Party Central Committee and the Supreme Council of Economic and Social Development, comrade Nicolae Ceausescu criticized some party and state activists who, either because of not understanding or out of a

desire to distort the state of affairs, present fictitious reports, either diminishing their achievements or exaggerating them. "Clearly, such a practice is inadmissible and incompatible with the job of a party activist and even the position as a party member," the party secretary general stressed.

In the spirit of this high exigency, the party organs and organizations that have been confronted with such phenomena or those that have had members who resorted to these reprovable methods have the duty of reexamining these acts and reviewing the measures taken, exhibiting the intransigence imposed by the evaluation formulated by comrade Nicolae Ceausescu.

Short Circuits in Combatting Violations of Any Type Attest to the Deficiencies in Political Work

Without a doubt, the role of the party organs and organizations is to carry out such a political-organizational and education activity so that any violations will be prevented. When, however, errors occur and shortcomings appear, the position of the communists must be firm and categorical, without any wavering. Unfortunately, the party organizations do not always adopt such an attitude. For example, the chief at production sector I at the Livezeni Mining Enterprise in Hunedoara County, V. Lupulescu, came to work under the influence of alcohol; I. Stelescu, an electromechanical specialists in sector II, got into the habit of punching in to work and then going home. If along administrative lines some measures were taken against these two, for a long time the party organizations did not find it appropriate to discuss them and punish them.

At the Brasov Enterprise for Technical Articles Made of Rubber, 22 section and group chiefs and specialists were punished for a failure to adhere to certain provisions of the regulation on interior order. Although many of them are party members, the organizations to which they belong did not learn of the fact that they had been punished administratively.

With regards to the inappropriate work style, as well as behaviors contrary to the norms of socialist ethics and equity, of engineer Constantin Seica, the former director of the Bacau Enterprise for the Industrialization of Milk, sufficiently disquieting information had existed. There were examples of the failure to achieve the plan for years on end, significant withdrawals of items from public property, gross negligence in carrying for products, abusive and discriminatory measures, unprincipled relations within the collective, violations of the requirements of collective work and many other shortcomings and violations that demonstrated that this person placed at the head of the enterprise lacked the qualities indispensible for such a job.

In going from example to example, without showing the necessary firmness right from the beginning that was required by the seriousness of the known acts, the correct measure - his removal from office - came sufficiently late, just in the middle of this year, that is, after this unit and the collective suffered a great deal. What also cannot be understood is the fact that the party committee did not attempt to establish responsibility for the appearance of these grave shortcomings, especially since this committee was no stranger to the director's arbitrary decisions.

We have referred to several deficiencies that place a shadow over the professional and ethical profile of certain leadership cadre and put a crack, as they say, in the foundation upon which a correct and exigent attitude is built, an attitude that they are called upon to adopt under all circumstances. Reinserting correctness into their rights, by expressing a combativeness and firmness with regards to any tendencies of deviation, and stimulating the creation of a militant and revolutionary manner of thinking and acting constitute one of the basic tasks of the party organs and organizations.

8724
CSO: 2700

CORRUPT BEHAVIOR OF PARTY OFFICIALS DEPLORED

Bucharest MUNCA DE PARTID in Romanian Dec 81 pp 84-87

[Unsigned article: "The General Assembly of Cooperatists Degenerated Into a Party Supported by Public Funds"]

[Text] It was nearly unbelievable, but that was the situation. The leadership council of the Valea Macrisului Agricultural Production Cooperative in Ialomita County decided that the general assembly for reports from cooperatists - an assembly whose permission was requested - should be concluded with a... buffet provided by the unit for free. And, they consumed 1,540 bottles of beer, 3,356 servings of broiled lamb, bread and other things. For this food and drink, the agricultural production cooperative paid invoices 47812 and 47813 totalling 14,783 lei.

Naturally, in the middle of all this there was talk of an abusive decision that violated the laws in effect and that was incompatible with the tasks and obligations of the collective leadership organ, the president and the chief account of any unit to ensure, in every way possible, the development and protection of public property and in no way to diminish this property. This is so because it is not hard to understand the fact that the funds that were spent for the food and drink were the results of the labors contributed by all the cooperative members and that, normally, they should be managed for the purpose of economically consolidating the unit.

It is a fact that the president of the cooperative, Dumitru Neagu, was punished by the plenary session of the town party committee with a "vote of censure" and the chief account with a "vote of censure with a warning," at the same time recommending his removal from his job, but this constitutes a correct, but insufficient measure. And, this measure, especially, should not merely involve just these two party members having responsible positions. We say this because we have in mind the fact that at this plenary session of the cooperative's members there was also participation by the members of the party committee in the agricultural production cooperative, the secretary and deputy secretaries of this committee and the members from the town party committee, as well as the party organizer and member of the bureau of the former Ilfov County Party Committee, the chief economist, the chief engineer of the unified agro-industrial council and other cadre from specialized organs. It was logical for these persons to take correct actions on the spot for such an act having negative implications for public property and through their firm intervention to return things to their normal state. They had the duty to do this not only as party members, but

also on the basis of the responsibilities inherent in the positions that they held. For that reason, it was equally logical and correct that in the party meetings of the base organizations to which these people belong, before the workers' collectives, to be held responsible for their indifferent attitude in their actions. It falls within the responsibility of the bureau of the Ialomita County Party Committee for this case to be brought to a conclusion, exhibiting a maximum of exigency towards all those who are guilty of this act. Just as it is necessary necessary for the events that took place at the Valea Macrisului Agricultural Production Cooperative to be handled by the entire party aktiv, by the secretaries of the town party committee and in the cooperative, and, first of all, by the leadership cadre in the agricultural unit. Only in this manner can it be stated that the lessons were shown to their maximum and that it will be possible to create an atmosphere of correctness appropriate to the early prevention of any forms of damage to public property.

Minimizing Abuses - An Act That Violates the Need for Exigency

At a general assembly meeting of the base organization of shift C in sector two at the Ghelar Mining Unit, held in February 1981, after presentation of the economic report by the shift specialist, Dumitru Buicu, the miner Petru Rotaru also took the floor, pointing out his disagreement regarding certain aspects of the report. Dumitru Buicu's rebuff - he is also the secretary of the bureau of the base organization - was quick in coming. He directed insults at the miner, as well as some of the most severe statements, with this attack culminating in Petru Rotaru's ejection from the meeting when he continued to support his point of view by criticizing the distorted manner in which the realities in the work collective had been presented. As a result, Rotaru called upon the Hunedoara County Party Committee and other organs, employing the right of each communist to request adequate measures when there are violations of ethical norms, of democracy, and of the principles of internal party affairs.

"After an investigation into the charges made, comrade Dumitru Buicu was discussed in the bureau of the Ghelar Mining Unit Party Committee and was severely called to task for his lack of tact in his discussions with other communists," we read in the response addressed on 10 October 1981 to MUNCA DE PARTID by the Hunedoara County Party Committee, letter No 251. In the same letter, however, signed by comrade Brincovean Pogea, the first secretary of the municipal committee, there is an attempt to divert the basic problem towards a warmer area of tolerance and the minimalization of certain practices, finding for this flagrant abuse attenuating circumstances. "The investigations show that the issues raised by Petru Rotaru cannot be completely confirmed since these discussions took place prior to getting into the general assembly's agenda," this letter states, as well as that in order to be judged in the light of doubtless communist intransigency and combativeness, the secretary's deeds would have had to have been included ahead of time in the proceedings themselves of the meeting.

In this situation, normally there would have been no difference between the time it was said that the abuse took place and the time it really took place. The secretary's guilt is equally serious in both cases, especially if we take into consideration that his attitude stopped Rotaru from exercising his right to speech and his opinion, setting himself up before the organization that placed trust in him as an element incapable of being criticized and intransigent not in the defense of the principles of socialist ethics and party democracy, but to his own more or less despotic tendencies. Unfortunately, precisely this fact was not understood by the party municipal organ. It was

expected that the situation that Dumitru Buicu created would be subjected to discussion not only in the bureau of the party committee in the unit, but also in the general assembly of the base organization where it occurred, right there in front of the communists so that, first of all, they could take the correct position and brand this practice totally inadmissible. At the same time, the measures of the party committee in the unit should not have been limited to a simple step of calling this to his attention. There should have been a decision calling for an adequate punishment in accordance with the level of violating the statutory provisions and the damage done to the rights - similarly statutory - of comrade Rotaru.

The case reported by comrade Petru Rotaru occurred on 5 February 1981. Between this date and the notification of the measures that were taken better than 8 months passed by. During this interval, there were sufficient occasions for the deeds committed by the secretary of the base organization of shift C in sector II of the Ghelar Mining Unit to be handled in a broader framework - for example, during training sessions of the party apparatus and the elected organs - so that never again, at any level of organizational work and regardless of the reason, will there be a repeat of such violations of statutory provisions.

Half-way Measures Against Someone Who Has Been A Cheat...

As secretary of the executive bureau of the Slava Cercheza Town People's Council in Tulcea County, Gheorghe Puisor had as one of his responsibilities overseeing work so that the provisions of the law would be completely respected with regards to granting permits to build new houses or to add to or repair existing houses. He was the one who should have held discussions with each applicant wanting such a permit and helped him to correctly fill out the documents that would have been then been subjected to discussion and approval in the executive bureau of the people's council.

Nothing could be clearer, one could say, and not without basis. Just that, by intuiting an important source of personal advantages in the exercise of these responsibilities, by fully profiting from the superficiality exhibited by the president of the executive bureau of the people's council in pursuing the manner in which the workers' requests were resolved and legalities were respected in completing these documents, and by not controlling himself in all his activities, Gheorghe Puisor put together an entire system for methods that were to help him to achieve a scenario having just one purpose: business - to be achieved by just one method: abuse. Merely in the first half of this year he issued construction permits for 17 houses without first having these requests discussed and approved, in accordance with the law, in the executive bureau of the town people's council, in three cases these documents being signed in the name of the president by Natalia Petrov (?!), an agricultural technician. For four permits, they could not find the receipts for the payment of the established fees, even though the people stated that they gave the money to the secretary of the executive bureau of the people's council. For two other permits, the receipt numbers are recorded in documents in the names of other persons and represent fees paid for other reasons. And, the home owners state that they gave the secretary of the executive bureau of the people's council everything that he asked for... (?!).

In this same manner, he issued permits so that 14 citizens could practice their crafts, although the law specifies and requires that these documents will be approved only by

the executive committee of the people's council. Similarly, four copies from the permit register managed to disappear. These copies were later found by the review collective in the possession of two citizens in the town and two others in Calarasi municipality (?!), permitting them to carry out pedlar trade activities. All four of these permits carried the signature of the secretary of the executive bureau of the people's council, Gheorghe Puisor.

As should happen, the person who committed such acts was removed from his job as the secretary of the executive bureau of the people's council, and in the plenary session of the town party committee he was punished with a "vote of censure." But, these measures do not correspond to the gravity of the acts committed by Gheorghe Puisor. What which he did is not only an abuse, but also the falsification of public documents, the substitution of positions and the premeditated violation of legal regulations, that is, acts that should be judged by the organs of justice. Just as his deeds are in total contradiction with the norms of ethics and equity and with the defining traits of a communist.

8724
CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAV SECRET SERVICE ACTION IN FRG ALLEGED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 25 Jan 82 pp 50, 52, 54-55

[Article: "The Whole Thing Looks Like an Execution--Massacre of Albanians--How the Yugoslav Secret Service Organizes Hits in the FRG"]

> [Text] Persons unknown shot and killed three Yugoslavs near Heilbronn. As far as German security authorities are concerned, the massacre is a new climax in the underground war waged by Yugoslav secret service people and opponents of the regime of the multination state in the FRG. After having done so with Croats in exile, the Belgrade government now apparently has also declared bloody war on Albanians in exile from the Kosovo Republic [sic].

The green BMW 316 backed out of the garage. Not wanting to turn around in the snow, the driver steered the car a further 40 meters in reverse, to a crossing.

As the vehicle stopped briefly under a street lamp, a man approached its right from a construction site and fired into the interior of the car from a distance of about 3 meters.

Another man fired as well and then remained standing next to the car and looked through the shattered windows to make sure of the effect of the fire. Neighbors aroused by the noise of the shots saw the two men escape.

Then, in the night from Sunday to Monday last week, inhabitants of "Habichtshoehe" in the Untergruppenbach municipality near Heilbronn witnessed something ghostlike. A four-cylinder car continued at high speed, with the driver's foot still on the gas pedal; then he apparently released the clutch and died, with the car rolling on out of control in a semicircle to the left and smashing against the closed door of a garage. The drive wheels got stuck in the snow, the engine died, and all was quiet.

In the interior of the car, police found:

--The driver, a 31-year-old Yugoslav named Bardhosh Gervalla, back of the wheel, hit by six shots;

--Zeka Kadri, 28, in the seat next to him, killed by two shots into the upper part of his body, and

--the brother of the driver, 36-year-old Jusuf Gervalla, critically wounded by another two shots.

It did not take long to identify the three victims and to classify them politically. They were Yugoslav citizens in exile of Albanian origin from the Province of Kosovo in the south of the Balkan state, and all three had agitated against the government in Belgrade. There were also immediate clues about the culprits. Still at the place of the crime, Jusuf Gervalla, who died later, whispered to police: "It was the SDB"--the Yugoslav secret service Sluzba Drzavne Bezbednosti.

There had been 12 shots from 2 guns--of 7.65 caliber--against the 3 men, 10 of them hitting the heart, lungs and back of the neck. A police officer on the spot said, "The whole thing looks like an execution."

It was secret service routine, according to Stuttgart sharpshooter and police trainer Siegried Huebner. Four shots have to hit the target--three to nail down the victim or, if he is standing up, to fell yim and put him out of action, and then the indispensable lethal follow-up shot." That too pointed to the SDB.

Yugoslav secret service people and opponents of the regime have been engaging in bloody confrontations abroad for many years. In a lot of cases militant Yugoslavs in exile have violently attacked embassies, consulates and representatives of their country. Belgrade has consistently repaid the murder and terrorism in kind.

The theater for the Balkan shootout, time and again, has been the FRG, with the police having been unable so far to put an end to the machinations.

This despite the fact that it is obvious who is responsible. Belgrade is afraid of the committed exiles groups as a focal point of unrest in the multination state--and fights them. It is above all the Croat expatriates who have been the target of the secret service people's guns. In several cases of murders of Croats in exile Belgrade's participation has been proved beyond any doubt.

For example, when the Croat Franjo Goreta, himself a former secret service man with a mission to kill in the FRG, defected and killed a control officer, Belgrade dispatched a commando, and shortly after Goreta had served his prison sentence, the SDB staged an assassination attempt which Goreta only barely escaped.

In the ensuing trial of the three culprits, the judge included in his sentence an appeal to Bonn, which so far as been in vain, saying: "It cannot be tolerated that hit contracts instigated by foreign countries to solve their domestic problems are executed on our soil."

In addition to the Croats, Albanians in exile have meanwhile become the target of the Yugoslav state offices. Ever since the resistance in Yugoslavia's Albanian Province of Kosovo climaxed in bloody unrest, Belgrade has been detecting foreign wirepullers. According to Belgrade politicians, the conflict is being directed by neighboring Albania and communist services loyal to Moscow, but also in a decisive manner from the FRG.

Actually in Baden-Wuerttemberg alone, there are something like 2,000 Albanians in exile from Yugoslavia, most of them in political asylum. Quite often their activities form the subject of complaint by the Consulate General in Stuttgart.

In spring 1981, for instance, there took place a demonstration, which otherwise received hardly any attention, of Albanians demanding the separation of Kosovo from Yugoslavia. When the demonstrators noticed that they were being photographed from a building housing a Yugoslav school, some went inside and encountered there, in addition to the photographer, Yugoslav Consul General Branco Dimitrijevic. They seized the film but later had to surrender it to the police.

This may have turned into a link in a lethal chain, for one of the intruders who were probably shown on the film was Bardhosh Gervalla, the driver shot and killed near Heilbronn.

The Gervallas were well known on the exile scene. Brother Jusuf who had only just advocated "armed struggle" against the Yugoslav state in a TAGESZEITUNG interview, was also, according to police information, the editor of an expatriates' paper calling itself ZERI I KOSOVES (Voice of Kosovo).

Bardhosh had arrived in the FRG as early as 1974. After attending a training course at the North Wuerttemberg Workers Welfare, he had worked for a long time at an office of social care and consultation for Yugoslav workers at Solitudestrasse 44 in Ludwigsburg. Married, with two children, Hardhosh was active primarily in trade union and labor law questions in behalf of his compatriots.

The one with the political mind of the two brothers who had moved into the rowhouse in Untergruppenbach apparently was Jusuf Gervalla. It was he above all whom the Yugoslav Consulate General in Stuttgart accused officially of membership in the "Red Front" fighting the Yugoslav government. Heretofor the organization had been active only in Yugoslavia and had not turned up in the annual reports of the Land Office for the Protection of the Constitution [VfS] or the Federal VfS.

Married, with three children, Jusuf is said to have been copublisher of the VOICE OF KOSOVO, banned in Yugoslavia, for which he worked from his place of residence. Kadri, also a journalist, was a key member of the staff of that paper.

On the outside wall of the single-family rowhouse at Auf der Habichtshoehe 40, last week a red flag with a double eagle and a five-cornered star was defiantly lowered to half-mast--the colors of Kosovo and at the same time the national flag of Albania.

What importance Belgrade attaches to the activities of the Albanians in exile was evident well before the Heilbronn massacre. Already early last year, a major action in which the Yugoslav security service had its sights set on compatriot Rasim Zenelaj proceeded in typical fashion. Zenelaj was a leading member and treasurer of the National Democratic Albanian Loyalty League.

The gunshots directed at the regime opponent Zenelaj on 14 May last year (he was heavily wounded but survived) for the first time clearly revealed the new orientation of attacks by the Yugoslav secret service.

In order to eliminate Zenelaj, the people in Belgrade forged expensive plots, recruited several agents and even ran the risk of implicating official consular officials in the murder plot and of exposing tacit leading assistants. The plan failed, however, and the participants were found out. In the proceedings against those responsible for the attempted assassination of Zenelaj currently pending in Frankfurt, the involvement of Yugoslav official bodies in the murderous pursuit of emigres becomes once more drastically apparent.

In the late 1970's a leading secret service man in the small town of Urosevac in Kosovo had been promoted to consular rank. Under the name of Salih Salihi, he showed up soon thereafter in his country's foreign service in the FRG, first at the Consulate General in Hamburg and then at the Consulate General in Frankfurt. There he settled down as a guard, with a gray consular ID, No 6750. Another secret service man had already been operating in Frankfurt--a high consular official going by the name of Svetozar Mirjacic and the nickname of Tozo, with ID No 6322. A high-ranking confidant of the two was Rade Surla, a former partisan who had last established himself as a builder in Frankfurt.

Surla visited his friends in the consulate and informed them about the activities of people in exile. Once, his chauffeur recalls, Surla himself received a visit. The somber guest (whom Surla told the chauffeur "one has to beware of" was secret service leader Milan Sasic.

As early as March 1981, immediately after the outbreak of the unrest in Kosovo, the Frankfurt trio went into action. Salihi listened for information about Albanian activist Rasim Zenelaj's daily habits among Yugoslav expatriates and had informants contact Tozo. Surla too became active when the time came for organizing the assassination attempt. Various clues and witnesses of the plot that have come to the fore in the meantime demonstrate the aplomb and scope of the secret service men's operation.

The first agent they set on Zenelaj, a Croat expatriate, exposed his official clients in evidence he presented in court. The second agent, Ante Kujundzic, did not keep his mouth shut either. He had already been recruited as an assassin by Tozo when he opened up before his Croat expatriate friends. Soon the German police had detailed information about the preparations for the assassination.

The organizers had not proceeded in a very circumspect manner. In April 1981 an unknown compatriot approached Croat expatriate Ante Kujundzic in the proximity of the Frankfurt railway station telling him to telephone urgently an "important person," identifying himself as "the music student." The stranger then handed Kujundzic a telephone number--21 77 01--telling him to add 2 to each digit when dialing.

The party at the other end--at 43 99 23--identified itself as the Yugoslav Consulate General, and contact had thus been established with Tozo. Kujundzic was asked for a start to spy on the Albanian Zenelaj. In turn Tozo offered money, a new ID and support in acquiring political asylum in the FRG.

At a later meeting Tozo offered him a false passport in the event that he should have to leave the country in a hurry on some important business. Kujundzic: "I realized that I probably was to bump off someone." Opting out, he informed the German authorities, and the police placed the threatened Zenelaj under protection.

To demonstrate this to the conspirators, German officers once even pointedly took the threatened Albanian for a walk in front of the Yugoslav Consulate General. Another time Yugoslav spies observed the Albanian in official company during a walk through the zoo--and in the process themselves drew the attention of the Germans.

Zenelaj did not get into any danger until he made his own contribution by telling friends of another protective measure--namely, that the police had fitted him with a bulletproof vest. One of the persons who was told this was working for builder Surla. So the Yugos hatched a plan to maneuver their bulletproof adversary into a situation in which he would doff the vest. This was to be accomplished by a woman, who was then supposed to fire the deadly shots.

Within a short time, the blond Serb Zorica Aleksic was dished up as an aide. Living without means or work near Darmstadt, she was soon won over for the project by threats and the promise of DM 2,000 in hit wages. A meeting was arranged between the woman and her victim, and Rasim Zenelaj took the agent to his apartment. When the woman emerged from the bathroom ready to fire her gun, he no longer was wearing his vest. Zenelaj collapsed hit by five shots near his heart.

The woman fled, and down at the entrance Surla and his chauffeur were waiting for her. She returned the gun and in turn received her money and a ticket to Belgrade. The three immediately started for the Frankfurt airport in a gray Volvo.

Zorica Aleksic did not manage to leave the country, however. Aroused by the shots, neighbors had found the victim and called for medical aid and police. By chance one of the officers assigned to protect the Albanian was listening to the police radio traffic, and a lightning search among the victim's friends led to Zorica. She was arrested shortly thereafter at the border check at the airport.

Consular employees Tozo and Salihi have long since been ordered to return to Yugoslavia. Contact man Surla managed to escape the very evening of the assassination. When he received a warning by telephone, Surla merely said, "Okay," and then had his chauffeur, who had witnessed the phone call, rush him across the border, to the Holiday Inn in Strasbourg. There his tracks disappeared.

The failure apparently did not discourage the SDB, for on 10 October 1981 in Brussels an Albanian named Vehbi Ibrahimi was shot and killed by several persons, with a 7.65-caliber gun, in the street leading to his apartment.

His wife, who was with him, was seriously wounded by the gunshots. Ibrahim was vice president of the Albanian Loyalty League.

German VfS personnel now thought the time had come, after the attacks on Zenelaj and Ibrahimi, also to see to the protection of the first chairman of the league, Emir Fazlija. Living near Goeppingen, he was known among his neighbors as a "dignified elderly man." Responsible police voiced the fear "that they might bump him off as well." Since that time Fazlija has been under protection and can no longer be reached by telephone.

The police are receiving hardly any political support in their fight against the Yugoslav underground war. True, there exists an agreement between Bonn and Belgrade to lend mutual support in case of assassination attempts, and occasionally there is an exchange of data about the origin of explosives and the caliber of weapons.

But the attacks show how little concern there is in reality in cooperation, at least one one side. For instance, the Federal Criminal Police Bureau has long since noted that in attempts of assassination against expatriate Croats, in most cases when SDB personnel were apparently involved, four-barrel guns were used whose projectiles have a right spin, whereas most handguns of this kind have a left spin. The organizers of the assassination attempts did not even consider it necessary to camouflage this striking feature.

In 1978, when Yugoslav police caught four West German RAF [Red Army Faction] members, the Yugoslavs presented a list of wanted Croat expatriates with a view to an exchange. The FRG authorities demurred, and Belgrade let the RAF people go.

What little German-Yugoslav cooperation there is between the police, according to the Germans, finds the Yugoslav side lacking, with the Yugoslavs often being content to render advice in the search for a motive, offering the opinion that the real points of dispute probably were "cases of honor," "matters involving women," an "accounting in railroad station surroundings" or an "arms deal."

Yugoslav politicians are wont to categorically deny to Bonn any involvement of the Belgrade secret service, and this is the way the talks have proceeded all along which high-ranking members of the FRG Ministry of the Interior have been holding with their Belgrade counterparts. Minister of the Interior Franjo Herljevic, a veteral partisan general and companion of Tito's, keeps on issuing denials, claiming that the Yugoslav secret service is not operating in the FRG.

In fall 1981, when CSU Bundestag Deputy Fritz Wittmann raised the question of Bonn reactions to Belgrade's behavior, he also received only an evasive answer by the Foreign Office. Bonn, said Minister of State Hildegard Hamm-Bruecher, comments on such things only "when there is a reason and it serves a purpose."

In fact, in addition to the various court proceedings, there already exist admissions of SDB activity. For example, at the Yugoslav Embassy in Bonn, a diplomat in touch with German police, Police Attache Tomo Renac, kept passing inquiries to Belgrade without ever answering them himself, and generally merely shrug ed his shoulders.

The Germans suspected what the reasons for this delaying attitude was when a Renac document addressed to Belgrade fell into the wrong hands.

In it Renac complained like an offended secret service man that "attempts are being made to prevent Yugoslav state security activities in the FRG with penal law and propaganda measures. At a reception the Bonn police president went so far as to point to espionage activity by Yugoslav diplomats, saying that there was evidence of this, and added that there was massive action by Yugoslav diplomats in the FRG. This forces us to draw the conclusion that the work of our contacts in the FRG is becoming more and more complicated."

German investigators thus do not want to rely on serious cooperation of Yugoslav offices. When a Frankfurt prosecutor recently announced that he would soon begin "interrogations in Yugoslavia," insiders were unable to offer any sort of encouragement.

Said a VfS man in Bonn: "All we could do was laugh."

8790
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CONFUSION IN LEGISLATIVE DOCUMENTS SCORED AT GATHERING

Belgrade ILUSTROVANA POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian No 1204, 1 Dec 81 pp 18-19

[Article by Slobodan Reljic: "We Confuse Even Ourselves"]

[Text] Nothing has helped! Neither well-intentioned appeals, nor social criticism. Specialized staff services are still writing overlong and incomprehensible reports. The delegates are still not reading them.

The Workers' University in Maribor has dealt with the trouble in its own way. "It is easier to teach the delegates to read faster than to teach the bureaucrats to write more briefly," the well-intentioned have concluded, and they are now organizing 30 6-hour training sessions. After the training the delegates will read at least three times faster. This is guaranteed by the Workers' University in Maribor if you pay 2,500 dinars for the course. The training has not yet begun. The results are awaited with great interest.

This is yet another in a succession of attempts. It is reason "for both tears and laughter." And it is uncertain which is the lesser of the evils--organizing such a course or doing nothing.

Recently linguists and lawyers debated the language of legislation in the Petar Kocic Library in Belgrade.

Regardless of how much people once swore by the law as the epitomy of clarity and it was said of someone's true words that they were "as sound as a law"--that can no longer be said today. One speaker even tried to launch a new saying, which soon might have been so readily adopted as to become an adage: "As unclear as a law."

The "Workers' Constitution" Needs To Be Translated

Nevertheless, it turns out that our laws are not only unclear to the ordinary man, but that even gray professors' heads are unable to understand them fully or easily. Which is why certain analyses were prepared for that occasion.

Professor Drago Cupic of the Institute for the Serbo-Croatian Language analyzed certain articles of our law which unquestionably is mentioned most often.

The ABC of self-management. The little constitution. The workers' law, and, by whatever name it is known, our Law on Associated Labor.

Article 1 Was Analyzed

This article contains 145 words. But according to Professor Cupic, at least 130 are altogether unnecessary. This statement was not made lightly--and the assertion was proven. To the satisfaction of all those present. See for yourself.

The basic idea of the article is this: the workers shall manage their labor.

The legislator has stated this in three sentences. As follows:

"In performing their dominant role in associated labor and in society, the workers shall freely, directly and on an equal footing, in the relations of linkage through democratic self-management, mutual interdependence, mutual responsibility and mutual solidarity, and in the relations of equality among the nationalities and ethnic minorities, manage their own labor and the entire labor of society in the basic and other organizations of associated labor, in other self-managing organizations and communities, and in society as a whole.

"The socioeconomic relations of socialist self-management in associated labor ensures that the workers, on the basis of their right to work with the assets of society and their equal rights, obligations and responsibilities with respect to the means of production and other means of social reproduction owned by society, shall manage their own labor and the conditions and results of their labor in their own interest, in their common interest, and in the general interest of society.

"The workers shall also participate in the regulation of general conditions of labor and in coordination, guidance and social planning in associated labor through their delegations and delegates in assemblies of sociopolitical communities, within the limits of their rights and duties as set forth in the constitution and law and the bylaws."

Even the Computer Choked

A "translation" of the article we have quoted would look like this:

"The workers shall freely, directly and on an equal footing manage their labor on the basis of their right to employ the assets of society."

That took 14 words.

The professor then went on to analyze Article 2 of the same law. The results were still more astounding.

No one can even count anymore how many times the same principles have been reiterated in our documents. The Law on Associated Labor has taken them over from the SFRY Constitution and the LCY Program. The republic laws have taken them over from the Law on Associated Labor. Self-management accords in work organizations take them over from the republic laws.

Incidentally, we seem to have a need to legislate absolutely everything. This goes to absurd lengths.

The former director of the Sarajevo Festival of Little and Experimental Theaters--though he was the only member of the permanent staff--had to have 29 different regulations. He even had, for example, a regulation on allotment of housing units.

Someone fed 7,202 words from the Law on Associated Labor into a computer. They took 69 of the entire 671 articles.

What did our unemotional machine find?

In such a sea of words there were only 609 different words used. The average word is repeated five times.

The average sentence in the law consists of 36 words. An ordinary prose text in our language can stand a sentence of 10 words, but one of 20 is much more difficult.

One consequence of such laws was, of course, the recent advertisement that appeared in the newspapers. A work organization was seeking a worker with special responsibilities and authorities, a solitary professional management organ, that is--if people at length really find out what that is--a director.

Thus our schools have become educational and training work organizations or work organizations in the domain of education, and teachers have become instructors of classroom instruction, and tenants have become holders of the right of tenancy.

An interesting thing occurred when the courts of associated labor made their appearance. It seems that it was no longer all right for complaints to be filed with these good courts of ours, and it was decided that that particular document would be given a bit nicer name--proposal. So if a worker, say, is suing (that is, proposing) his enterprise--he is a proponent. The other party, that is, the enterprise, is referred to as the proponent's adversary. Then someone got the idea that this wasn't right. It didn't conform to self-management, if we might put it that way. After all, how can our worker and our enterprise be adversaries? (Are they supposed to be friends when here they are before the courts?) So a nicer name was introduced for this other party: the second participant.

It has been said that our "revolution of words" is extremely progressive. This has indeed become a notable fad. It often seems to us that in putting by the old forms, we are also putting by the old content. One of our old ambassadors had this comment to make when he arrived from London: "The English are very conservative, and when they replace the content, they leave the old words, while we on the other hand are very progressive--since we use new words to adorn even the old content."

We interviewed Professor Drago Cupic at the Institute for the Serbo-Croatian Language in the Serbian Academy of Sciences in Belgrade.

"Why is unclarity above all a feature of laws regulating the relations of self-management? It is true, for example, that laws on crimes, debentures, and civil rights are nevertheless both more specific and clearer."

"It is a question of laws which regulate relations which are evolving. Indeed the Law on Associated Labor is not a true law. It is a code. A collection of instructions of a kind. The Law on Associated Labor is a kind of projection of our future. And it is not easy to assess what sort of future we will have. Nevertheless, it is beyond dispute that it is possible to do something toward making these laws simpler."

"What?"

"Some Things Are Clouded Over"

"Very brief laws would not be a solution, since life is very complicated. But laws can be freed of unnecessary repetition, stereotypes and phraseology. Just imagine, even those enforcing the laws cannot enforce them properly since they are not sufficiently clear."

"Do the unclear passages in the law on self-management leave room for irresponsibility in the reality of self-management?"

"People actually can hide behind the vagueness in legislation. Many errors can be justified in that way. This probably has quite a bit of importance in organizations where things are not going as well as they might be."

"How much is there of the bureaucratic political vocabulary in laws?"

"I think that there are such cases. There are things which are clouded over by the politicians. But I think that is not the predominant tendency. Nevertheless, I must emphasize, we are a country which enacts a great deal of legislation. Often in haste. I have just read the draft of the Law on Expanded Reproduction. It has covered that field so broadly that its principal purport has been lost. Many concepts are not sufficiently clear at all...."

"Even to those drafting the law?"

"Probably. Many questions have been put to them in the assembly. Many they did not answer, though here they are writing the law. So, it is not just a linguistic trouble, but a much broader problem."

"It seems that social relations are difficult for our legislators to seize hold of."

"When social relations are clear, then legislation is clear as well. In such a case the lawyers have no difficulties with language. Yet certain social phenomena are not so easy to make clear."

"And now that legislation has to be interpreted?"

"This necessitates many interpretations. And it is not easy to interpret a piece of legislation which is not clear."

"An interesting thesis was presented at a recent gathering--to the effect that Marx himself is 'at fault' for our language difficulties. Marx is 'blamed' for not having been born a Yugoslav. And since he was born a German, our translators have not done a good job of translating his works."

"That is true to some extent. When the works of Marxism were translated, the terms were translated literally. To be sure, some we were not able even to translate, since we did not have them at all in our language. Then it all took such a turn that our language was adapted to the German way of thought. You understand. Today we have an example of this in the adaptation to the American way of thought. Take, for example, the word 'marketing.' We have taken that word over, and now we are striving to realize the relations which it signifies. Or, another word which has come to us recently--'image.' And no one knows how to explain what it means. It does mean something in America; in our context that meaning is just emerging."

"How are we to get out of that situation?"

"The linguist's influence must be considerably greater. A linguistic culture has to be developed. We have linguists associated with all the bodies which write legislation. I am afraid that their influence is negligible. But only a long-term effort can arrive at true solutions. The only time we give consideration to language is in elementary school. Very little in secondary school. The situation has improved somewhat with the new system of education. But still students are graduating from our law schools without writing a word. And later they draft the legal enactments. Perhaps I exaggerate, perhaps I have a professional bias, but there ought to be some subject in law school in which the language of a legal document would be learned."

Something really ought to be done. Just so we do not enact a Law on Brevity and Clarity of Legislation, which again would require a speed-reading course in Maribor and a "translator."

7045
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STATUS OF AUTONOMOUS PROVINCES WITHIN SERBIA REVIEWED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1618, 3 Jan 82 pp 24-27

[Article by Stevan Niksic: "A Look Into History"]

[Text] "Just give them two Mercedes, and the problem will be solved," was the cynical barb launched back in the early sixties which was recalled by one of the participants in last week's meeting of the Serbian LC [League of Communists] Central Committee in a desire to illustrate, as he put it, the lack of understanding and topsy-turvy conception of the nature of the problem of the status of the provinces.

It makes good sense to suppose that the real problems caused by differing views of what is usually referred to as the official structure of SR [Socialist Republic] Serbia as a complex social and governmental community within the framework of the Yugoslav Federation could never have been solved by such simple and ultimately such inexpensive means as Mercedes automobiles or other perquisites of high position. Though, as could easily be seen in the debate, even that factor was not altogether without influence in certain of the earlier arguments which are now being frequently mentioned. The earlier problems, however, were far more serious. But since they were not seriously tackled or resolved in good time, they accumulated and grew and gave rise to new problems....

"In public we have endeavored to preserve unity, covering over the objective existence of disunity," was the judgment expressed by Dragoslav Markovic. Branka Lazic (Vojvodina LC) remembered that back in the autumn of 1979, during Comrade Tito's visit to Kosovo, "the comrades from Serbia spoke very favorably about relations in SR Serbia and especially about the important results in the legislative activity of the SR Serbia Assembly." One member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee who was following her speech over a monitor before which a group of newsmen were sitting commented out loud: "That's right, we deceived ourselves...."

What Is Not in Dispute

There have been no disputes as to how and why the provinces came into being and why they fall within the framework of SR Serbia. Nor has anyone made an issue of this. Indeed several participants in the meeting harshly and temperamentally

opposed the reference to certain prewar documents and resolutions of the CPY [Communist Party of Yugoslavia], mentioned in a meeting of the Provincial Committee of the Vojvodina LC in Novi Sad, judging this to be unsuitable for this occasion to put it mildly. Above all because references to such documents could have some meaning only if someone were to really dispute the historical and other undisputed facts, which is not the case.

Nevertheless, the character and importance of the discussion conducted at this meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which in many respects was exceptional, makes it necessary to recall certain crucial moments which led to the present form of the autonomy, status, and breadth of rights and responsibilities of the autonomous provinces within the framework of SR Serbia and Yugoslavia. Especially since certain of the earlier debates contributed greatly to differences in interpretation of the constitutional solutions and to everything else which led to this meeting.

Significant debates concerning the character and status of the autonomous provinces were conducted back in the early sixties, before the 1963 constitutional reform. Describing that period in his book "Historija SFRJ" [History of the SFRY], Dr Dusan Bilandzic says: "Disagreements in the leadership of the LCY and SFRY in 1962 and 1963 concerning the strategies of further social development slowed down the pace of social change, and indeed the decisions and documents dating from that period represented compromises. This is one of the reasons why the most important document of that period, the 1963 Constitution, contained compromise solutions." It cannot be confidently asserted today that the definition of the provinces in that constitution was the result of a compromise, but it is a fact that it was revived just a few years after the constitution was adopted. The amendments concerning the provinces were first to be amended (in 1967 and 1968). In such manner as to grant them the status of a "constituent element of the Federation." Everything seems to indicate that the debates conducted following the Fourth Plenum of the LCY Central Committee and the observations that the forces condemned on that occasion had exerted an adverse influence on the policy of ethnic equality had a bearing on that decision.

The Constitution and Its Implementation

The debates concerning the character of the Yugoslav Federation and--in that context--concerning the provinces were renewed in the late sixties and early seventies, at the time of the preparation of the new package of constitutional amendments which were adopted in 1971. It is well known that not even then, in the electrified and crisis atmosphere burdened with nationalistic and liberalistic euphoria, the conditions were not perfect for the constructive and sober debates which are taken for granted when major constitutional reforms are contemplated. Nevertheless, the solutions which were adopted at that time were indeed later incorporated into the final version of the new 1974 SFRY Constitution. That is how the present scheme of the Federation and the republics and provinces took its final form. The constitution was adopted by plebiscite.

It very quickly turned out that adoption of the constitution had not brought an end to the important debates about the provinces. It was just that the character of those debates was now different: whereas previously the provisions of the

constitution had by and large been criticized, it was now the reverse, and an issue was being made of their enforcement. The SR Serbia Presidency adopted a decision on 16 January 1975 that it would take up in a meeting the "'issues' of the constitutional structure of the republic, with specific reference to performance of functions of interest to the republic as a whole." On that occasion a working group was also created to do a "comprehensive study and treatment" of these problems. A year and a half later (24 June 1976), in a meeting of the SR Serbia Presidency (whose membership includes, as is well known, representatives of both provinces), the Presidency was informed that the working group was engaged in preparing and drafting a document which would serve as the basis for discussion of the "problems of the constitutional structure of the republic with reference to the existence of the socialist autonomous provinces within it."

The Debates in 1977

Later this topic was mentioned once again in the year-end review of the current situation by the chairman of the SR Serbia Presidency at that time, which was delivered in a joint session of all the chambers of the Assembly on 30 December of that same year, 1976. "It was normal and to be expected that in the initial phase of overcoming certain statist and centralistic relations which had been retained, emphasis was put in the process of the constitutional structuring of the republic on the autonomous organization and official status of the province. However, we have entered a phase of development when conditions have imposed the need to examine and evaluate more fully the constitutional structure of SR Serbia as a governmental and sociopolitical community," it was said in that address [analogous to our "State of the Union" message--translator's note]. By and large the public was not aware of what happened after that. After all, the report which that working group was supposed to write was never again mentioned publicly, and thus all trace is lost of this topic. Only this year, in early May, after the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo, was it said in a meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, and then, to be sure, only in passing, that the report had been completed and had been the occasion for tumultuous debates in the top political leadership of the republic. There were several versions of that report, which was referred to as the Blue Book, versions that were drafted in succession. The last one, which was somewhat shorter than its predecessors, bore the date 11 March 1977.

It is not difficult to conclude from the discussion at the last meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, just like the one in May, from discussions--in which the 1977 debates were often mentioned--that the Blue Book was for many a matter of dispute from the outset. Actually, the word "dispute" is not strong enough. Someone has mentioned that a demand was made for that analysis to be "burned so that it could not be used in any possible later debate."

It was evident, however, that not all the judgments of those 1977 debates were the same in all respects. Since May and all the way up until a few days ago a kind of argument has actually been going on concerning this matter. At the May meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee Ivan Stambolic for the first time issued in public an assessment of those discussions and presented a few characteristic details from which it was not difficult to suspect what was involved. "Why is it that it did not suit someone to clear up the heart of the matter at that

time? First of all," Stambolic said at that time, "because the initiatives for an essential and integral examination of the constitutional structure of Serbia were interpreted and perceived as an endeavor to restrict the rights of the provinces from the standpoint of the statehood of SR Serbia. That is why the discussions at that time were unable to offer even a clear answer whose importance we see only now--the socialist autonomous provinces are not and cannot be communities with statehood such as the republic has. We did not state clearly and resolutely at that time that SAP [Socialist Autonomous Province] Vojvodina and SAP Kosovo had their republic, their community with statehood, SR Serbia."

That alone, then, was enough for one to conclude what was involved. After the stormy debates initiated by the Blue Book final statements for the public were adopted. They contained an assessment of the political situation of the moment and of the major topic which had been the reason for putting the entire matter on the agenda. The main emphasis was on the danger of Serbian nationalism, while due attention was not paid to the other nationalities; the danger of centralism was emphasized, while the problem of separatism and "autonomania" was neglected. The euphoria which had brought about an explosion in Kosovo unquestionably shed a new light on the diagnosis that had been stated in that way.

The discussions behind closed doors in 1977 were confined to a small group. Those are said to have been day-and-night meetings (there were at least some 20 of them) of the "coordinating body," in which the participants included not only the highest officials of the republic, but also members of the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee from SR Serbia and from the provinces, as well as the highest political officials of the interopstina conferences of the LC in the republic.

Disputes Concerning the Blue Book

Radoman Perkovic (Vojvodina LC) says that at the last meeting of the Central Committee he was surprised that Ivan Stambolic is now criticizing those discussions in 1977 "when at that time he was secretary of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee and signed all three summaries of those conversations, which I have even today, and I believed that those talks had been faithfully reflected in those summaries.

"... If that is his thinking, and he was a participant in those talks, why did he not oppose that approach, why did he accept the text of the conclusions?" Perkovic wonders.

And Bosko Krunic, chairman of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee, has spoken among other things about the "essential disagreements in approach" over the question of the talks in 1977 and the summaries of them that were issued at the end. "I assume that those documents represent our views, that we adopted this, submitted it to the Central Committee, and that the Central Committee adopted them," Krunic says.

"Any serious analysis of those documents and of what happened in that period would show that we built them up on an assessment that had been erroneously arrived at at that time, which is why the attempt at counterrevolution was a surprise to all of us. In that fact lies our greatest responsibility, and we should bravely admit it in a communist spirit," Ivan Stambolic replies.

"Basically, I think that not a single view they contain could be called into question today. I even think that those documents have lasting value. However, they were not enough to meet the demands and problems of the times in which we created them, and they did not orient us in our action toward the principal and immediate dangers," Stambolic said in a recent meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee.

Dragoslav Markovic has also been among those who have referred to what happened in 1977. He says: "At no time did anyone reject that book (the Blue Book), at no time did anyone debate that book: not a single forum, not a single leadership body, nor the Central Committee, nor the Presidium of the Central Committee, nor the republic's Presidency. And what really happened? Because of that unfavorable balance of power and also the 'sensitiveness' of the issue, all the forums to which we passed on that level of responsibility, in a disciplined and responsible way, said--we accept the summary as though there were no book, we move on to the conclusion.... Probably, as in every document which is in draft form and is being offered for debate, it perhaps did include some unacceptable things. However, the book was condemned, it was denounced, as were those who wrote it. I therefore propose that we broaden Comrade Minic's motion and make available to all members of the Central Committee and to the public at large the Blue Book, the transcripts and extracts from the transcripts of the discussions conducted at that time and the conclusions of the Presidium (I do not know whether they were also adopted by the Central Committee), which are not bad. I support them even now. They do not contradict the Blue Book which was denounced. Let us be clear--I am not asking for any sort of rehabilitation of the Blue Book. It can be rejected, it need not be rejected, but whatever we do cannot get rid of the problems. So, Kosovo has demonstrated 5 years later that we made a mistake, that we rejected a real debate, that we closed our eyes to the problems," runs Markovic's assessment.

With reference to 1977, then, there are three things which need to be distinguished: the Blue Book, the transcripts of the discussions which were then conducted in the "coordinating body" of the republic, and the final summaries concerning those talks, which were later distributed to members of the Central Committee and to opstina committees of the League of Communists.

Facing Forward

Last week's meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee also had its prehistory. It might perhaps be said that this was only a continuation of the 14th Meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, which took place on 6 May of this year and in which the lessons of the counterrevolutionary demonstrations in Kosovo were analyzed. However, the immediate occasion for the present debate was the obligation to analyze this topic which had been set down in the conclusion of the 20th Meeting of the LCY Central Committee.

Stole Jankovic, a member of the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee, spoke at length about what happened in Vojvodina after the May meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee. "Several members of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee declared that they entirely accepted the report presented by Comrade Vlaskalic at that meeting, but they presented the opinion that the statements of

certain comrades at that same meeting were not in accord with that report. What does that mean? It is clear that the aim here is to instill disunity and discord in the Serbian LC. To make a division in the Serbian LC. An attempt to bring about differentiation and confrontation within the leaders in Serbia that comes down to creating factions in the Serbian LC, a shattering of SR Serbia and accordingly of the SFRY as a whole. In that respect the meeting of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee last July, the public statements made by certain comrades, and also the action which followed therefrom, constitute an unprecedented example in the history of the CPY and LCY since Comrade Tito came to the head of our party. In the Presidium of the Serbian LC Central Committee last June an assessment was offered of that meeting along with the proposals whose purpose was to indicate to the comrades from the Presidium of the Vojvodina LC Provincial Committee the harmfulness of such a brutal attack on the leadership of SR Serbia and also the need to withdraw from circulation documents which were based on erroneous assertions harmful to unity in the Serbian LC," Jankovic observed.

In his closing statement, which was accompanied by the applause of all participants in last week's meeting of the Serbian LC Central Committee, Dr Tihomir Vlaskalic called for a "facing forward" and a "drawing of many lessons, both collective and personal, but especially personal."

One of those lessons he especially singled out states that "it is not always advisable to return to the past and to things which have been superseded. This is sometimes necessary, even indispensable. It is not necessary and it is not indispensable when this hinders the discussion, if it confuses the issue, if it makes a resolution more difficult. And that is why I do not support the proposal for the 1977 materials to be distributed to members of the Central Committee or among the opstina committees."

7045
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MACEDONIAN OPINION SURVEY ON SOCIAL DIFFERENCES ANALYZED

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croation No 1613, 29 Nov 81 pp 22-23

[Article by Dragan Jovanovic]

[Text] At the end of October, the Ninth Scientific Conference of Yugoslav Sociologists was held in Belgrade. The topic was the position of the science in Yugoslav society. Along with the assertion of the barrenness of sociological thought and discussion of its future directions, it was stated that the subjects of investigations should include social differences in the population.

For some reason, at this same time NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE (NIN) received the results of a study by the Institute for Sociological and Political-Juridical Research in Skopje. The major research project carried the title "Public Opinion in Macedonia," but the chapter on social differences drew special interest.

Kimov, who worked directly on this chapter, stated in his introduction that: "the opinions of citizens and working people on existing social differences can be one of the factors that determine motivation and involvement in the implementation of a series of crucial socioeconomic changes and in self-management relationships in general."

The numbers and percentages in the research are even more direct than Kimov. To the question "Are social differences here increasing, staying the same or decreasing?" 48.3 percent of the total population asked, and 51 percent of the working people asked, responded that social differences were increasing. Only one-fifth responded that they were staying the same, and another fifth could not say. Essentially the same question had appeared in a questionnaire administered in Macedonia in 1978 to test public opinion. The same tendency was observed in those responses, but the number who consider that social differences are increasing has grown.

On this basis, researcher Kimov concludes, "The increase in the number of citizens and workers who consider that social differences are increasing and the relative decline in the number of those who 'could not decide,' lead to the conclusion that the public has a growing interest in this problem. The most critical segment of the population was the group from 21 to 55 years of age; i.e., those most active in society. This is probably because these people are most directly involved in the self-management system."

Finally, LCY members receiving and answering questionnaires showed a clear attitude of greater criticism on the question of social differences. Among party members, 52 percent believe that social differences are increasing, compared to 46 percent of noncommunists who do not [sic] think so. Naturally, it would be interesting to know the social structure of the party members, but the researcher did not specify their social composition or place in the social distribution of labor. Nevertheless, something can be said about the optimism of some communists that this research reveals, particularly if we keep in mind that, in this investigation, the smallest percentage of questioned communists was workers or farmers. A small group (5.1 percent) of communists believes that the workers are the best protected social class in our society; this opinion is shared by only 1.2 percent of the noncommunists questioned.

These factors result in the thesis of Dr Svetomir Skaric, the director of the institute and the reviewer of this research. He feels that this time the party members were less critical. Another reviewer, political scientist Vlado Popovski, a professor at the Skopje Philosophical Faculty, adds that besides "objective" reasons for the optimism of these communists (such as quick receipt of apartments and jobs, higher pay and better schooling for their children) there are also subjective reasons, in the "mechanism of self-defense."

The researchers asked the question: "In what aspect of living do you feel the most obvious differences between poor and rich families appear in our society?" Respondents singled out three things, in this order: employment, housing and schooling for their children. At the same time, these responses reveal the degree to which these are the urgent needs of the average Macedonian. Villas, yachts and luxurious automobiles were in fourth place, under the category of "other," while "travel and entertainment" was in fifth place.

Vlado Popovski puts it this way. Social differences have long been legitimized in our society; nobody disputes this fact. However, it is primarily a matter of the negative and unjustified consequences of social differences. If every fourth Macedonian speaks of employment as a social difference, and every fifth one about housing in that way, then the mechanism of social correction of social injustice has in large part melted away. If workers, villagers and their children have the hardest time finding jobs, apartments and education, the danger exists that there will be conflicts between segments of the class structure. In other words, we already have the rudiments of a class conflict, we have the sources for reproducing social levels and human consciousness with a critical, conflict-oriented bent.

In a way, that trend is further illustrated by the responses to a third question about social differences: "In your opinion, to what extent do measures of current economic policy protect the interests of the direct producers?" "To a small degree" was the response of 30.7 percent of all citizens, and of 37.8 percent of those employed. Fully a third answered that they could not judge.

The Managers Are the Best Protected

The next question asked, "In your opinion, whose interests are best protected in our society?" No other question brought the unanimity of responses registered by the population on this question. A high 57.7 percent answered that the management personnel had the best protection. In second place came those with technical training

followed by villagers, craftsmen and innkeepers, then those with humanistic training and, in last place, the workers. Only 2.5 percent of the population declared that the workers were the best-protected segment of society. In his concluding remarks, Kimov noted; "Comparing these data with data from previous investigations shows that these problems appear in sharper relief than before." Director Skaric was even more specific: "The research shows that the genesis of these problems can be a very interesting topic. The data indicate that the functioning of our sociopolitical system has been blocked and thereby the delegate system has been handicapped."

Finally comes a word about the importance of sociological research on the Yugoslav working class as mentioned at the start of this article. How does the Skopje institute see itself in that role?

Vlado Popovski worked in the institute for a long time. He considers himself a close collaborator, with a full right to respond to this question. He said, "We have tried to communicate with the political structure and with the public, but there was no interest from that side. Thus the institute was largely left to respond to its own scholarly conscience."

Director Skaric also said that the institute does not simply do projects on order "but rather ones that it regards as important and for which it provides the finances."

NIN asked what he would like to see the young institute become.

Skaric answered, "A scholarly institution that would quickly and constantly test public opinion and immediately report fresh results."

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